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MAY DAY REVIEW OF THE REVOLUTIONARY FORCES OF THE PROLETARIAT

(Preliminary Summary of the Revolutionary May Day Celebrations in 1934.)

WHAT were the most outstanding features of the May Day celebrations in 1934?

Firstly, there was the triumphant *joy* of the victorious proletariat and the toilers of the land of the Soviets who have destroyed forever the frightful system of exploitation and slavery, liquidated unemployment in the towns and pauperism in the villages, and who, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, are building a classless society on one-sixth of the earth's surface, converting their workers' and peasants' Red Army, in the face of a whole world of enemies, into the most organized, most disciplined, most conscious, and most powerful army in the world.

And secondly, there was the *sharp revolutionary hatred of the masses of the proletariat* towards the system of wage slavery and national oppression, mass ruin and fascist terror in the countries of capital, a burning hatred which sometimes takes the form of countless strikes, revolutionary demonstrations, barricade fights against the armed forces of dying capitalism, and at other times hides in the depths of their hearts waiting for the moment to burst out into mighty spontaneous explosions of revolutionary struggle, sweeping away the regime of the fascist dictatorship.

"Anxiety" prospers in its purest form at the point where it has a chronic character "always equal to itself", miserable and contemptible, whereas the needs of the proletariat assume a sharp, rough form, urge it on to a life and death struggle, revolutionize it, and therefore give rise not to "anxiety" but to passion. (Marx, *German Ideology,* p. 197, Russian edition.)

And finally, both in the Soviet Union and in the capitalist countries there was a growth of mass revolutionary heroism, this invincible, all-conquering force of the proletarian revolution and the construction of classless Socialist society.

* * *

The celebration of May Day in the Soviet Union showed with exceptional clarity that on Soviet territory, won from the enemy in bloody battle, a new, bright and joyous life is being born. Millions of demonstrators marched in the streets. Every column of this organized army of toilers was decorated in its own way, had its own individual character, but all of them had one common feature—joy, happiness and good cheer. The columns sang, laughed and danced. At the head of every column marched the notable and honored people of the factories and mills—those with orders on their breasts, Voroshilov marksmen, men and women shock brigaders of the enterprises, for whom labor on Soviet ground has long since become a matter of honor, pride, valor, and heroism. Over their columns the demonstrators carried emblems of their work, specimens of the goods produced by their factories. They proved that in a country freed from the capitalist parasites, the dreams of the English and French utopians of the 19th century are being fulfilled, in the fact that labor itself has become the joy of life (Fourier).

The social-democrats throughout the entire world have poured slander on the Soviet Union, publishing innumerable articles on the alleged starvation and the difficult material situation of the Soviet proletarians. The Communists have never said that full satisfaction of all needs and an abundance of the blessings of life have already been attained in the U.S.S.R., which is forced to build Socialism in capitalist surroundings at unprecedented speed and with enormous successes. But May Day plainly showed that even at the present day there are no longer any traces of recent want in the columns of the workers, collective farmers, and office employees who demonstated that the slogan of the great Party of Lenin and Stalin, to bring about a prosperous life for the workers and collective farmers, is being carried out in a very short time.

But the main thing is that along with the liberation from the yoke of capital, along with the introduction of the seven and six-hour day, along with the abolition of pauperism, the Soviet system has made it possible to bring about the all-round development of the abilities of every toiler, confidently creating the necessary pre-requisites for carrying out the final aims of Communism—"the development of human life as an aim in itself" (Marx).

And even bourgeois scientists have more and more often been compelled to admit that Socialism in the U.S.S.R. has not only not extinguished the initiative of competition and the many-sided individuality of every member of society, but, on the contrary, for the first time in the history of mankind, Socialism has developed the initiative of competition, the self-activity of the toilers on a mass scale, liberating them at the same time from the oppressive features of the capitalist hunt for profits. Thus, for example, a well-known American economist, Stuart Chase, in a letter which was broadcast by radio from Washington, said the following:

"In the light of this achievement [Chase has in view the annual increase of the basic capital in in-

dustry in the U.S.S.R. by 15 to 20 per cent], the well-worn argument that Socialism will destroy initiative and progress becomes obviously foolish. No honest man, whatever his political views, could fail after these facts to recognize that modern technique is developing more rapidly, and more fully in the conditions of a planned system based on collectivization than it could develop in the conditions of the 'free play of forces' under capitalism and under the rule of finance capital." (Re-translated from the Russian report in the *Izvestia*.)

Another god-fearing bourgeois journalist, upon returning to Finland, sacrilegiously gave over the radio his impressions of the Soviet Union: "God works great miracles, but the Soviet Government is doing still bigger ones."

The gigantic successes of the Soviet Union are the most powerful force revolutionizing the masses of the toilers in the capitalist countries, convincing them of the correctness of the path taken by the Bolsheviks, the path of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and Soviet Power, inspiring them with confidence of victory and inflaming their righteous hatred towards the capitalist system, which has outlived itself, and is doomed, but which is still offering resistance by savage robber methods of terror and by unrestrained lying to and deception of the toilers. The victorious march of Socialism sounds a mighty echo over the earth, inspiring the toilers of the whole world.

And this international character of the entire self-sacrificing struggle of the Soviet toilers was emphasized with unprecedented power by the May Day demonstrations in 1934.

Comrade Voroshilov, the People's Commissar for Defense, when greeting the May Day parade, "the entire Red Army, all the toilers of the Soviet Union and the proletariat of the whole world," in the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Workers' and Peasants' Government, uttered the following words which are capable of giving still greater revolutionary good cheer and confidence to all the toilers who are carrying on the difficult struggle against imperialism, against the bourgeoisie and the landlords:

"Comrades, we are proud that on this international holiday, we can say to the whole world of workers, to all the friends of the land of the Soviets, that our cause is unshaken, that we are standing firmly and confidently at our historic post, that we shall build up the new human life at the same speed, with the same unswerving will, and with the same constantly growing success as we have done hitherto.

"Let our brothers know that they are not alone, that at the head of the historic struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie stands the mighty working class of a great country, the class of conquerors."

And the large delegations of English, French, Irish and Australian workers, and the Austrian Schutzbunders watched the mighty columns of troops marching past, the ordered ranks of innumerable tanks as they filed through the Red Square, the flocks of airplanes, and the millions of toilers of the Soviet Union participating in the processions, and they could personally convince themselves that they really are not alone in their struggle.

The U.S.S.R. rises like a rock of peace over the capitalist world, which is feverishly preparing the new catastrophe of a world imperialist war, and primarily a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union. And if the bourgeoisie lose their heads and succeed once more in igniting the flames of bloody war, then the proletariat of the world will repeat after Engels:

"If you have nothing left but to open the last war dance, we shall not weep. . . . But if you release forces with which you will be unable to cope afterwards, then however matters may go, at the end of the tragedy you will be a wreck and the victory of the proletariat will either have been won already or will be inevitable." (Quoted by *Lenin*, Collected Works, vol. 23, p. 105, Russian edition.)

* * *

The picture unfolded during the compulsory "celebration" of the "national holiday of labor" in fascist Germany was the exact reverse of that in the U.S.S.R. No mimicry could help the bloody fascist royal jesters. Even open robbery, the inclusion of the Soviet emblem, the hammer and sickle, in their May Day badge, together with the swastika, could not help. Since it was beyond their power to prohibit the revolutionary holiday on May 1, fascism tried to appropriate it for itself, claiming that May Day is an ancient German festival, and has nothing to do with the Communist International. This was probably the reason that the announcement was made in the factories in Germany that wages would be paid for May 1 only to those who produced a certificate that they marched in the columns, while one of the fascist trade unions openly stated in its May Day circular that "participation in the national demonstration is compulsory for all factory workers and employees. All who do not turn out will be fined 20 marks."

Even the correspondents of the British conservative papers who, as is well known, are extremely well-inclined towards the hangman regime of Hitler, were compelled to stress in their telegrams the "artificial character of the demonstration in Berlin", to state that Hitler's speech in the Templehof met with only the "moderate approval" of the audience (*Times*),

which was shown, evidently, as the *Morning Post* admits, in the unceasing popping of corks from lemonade bottles. According to the *Daily Telegraph,* "small groups of Berlin Storm Troops openly laughed among themselves while Hitler was making his speech". All the main streets in Berlin were surrounded by special cables which separated the public from those who were demonstrating. The streets leading to the Templehof were lined by two, and in some places three, files of Storm Troopers who stood shoulder to shoulder right up to the Templehof Square. A characteristic point indicating the state of mind of the workers who were compelled to participate in the fascist celebration was that in spite of all the measures taken by the national-socialists nearly one-half of those who participated in the demonstration left the procession on the way.

We do not know yet how many open revolutionary actions, demonstrations and strikes took place on the First of May in fascist Germany. A year ago the world proletariat was able to learn of the numerous militant actions of the German workers on the First of May only several weeks later. The fascist press maintains an elaborate silence over all the manifestations of the popular rage. Today, however, we can speak about the high activity of the Communist Party on the First of May. Berlin and the main industrial centers were swamped with leaflets and newspapers illegally published by the Communist Part of Germany. An especially large quantity of illegal literature was spread about while the meeting was actually taking place in the Tempelhof, which bears evidence to the atmosphere of sympathy with which the workers, who were compelled to participate in the meeting, surrounded the Communist distributors of anti-fascist literature.

The fascist *Boersenzeitung* which quotes the contents of the First of May number of *Die Rote Fahne* was compelled to state that

> "The Communist newspaper still continues to call the masses to struggle against capitalist exploitation, against piece wages, against fascist terror in the workshops, for freedom to strike and of assembly, and for the setting up of illegal militant trade unions. . . . It still continues to glorify the Soviet Union, and the notorious slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat continues to be repeated."

The fear of the growing forces of the proletarian revolution, of the forces of the Communist Party of Germany which is preparing the masses for the armed overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, a fear which is not to be hidden, can be detected in the words uttered by General Goering, the Prime Minister of Prussia, who is at the same time Chief of the Prussian Police, when he stated that

> "I dealt very severely with Communism [so he stated to the representative of the Reuter Agency]. It suffered great losses and was almost destroyed. Only the last group of activists remained. But *then Communism began . . . to liven up slowly . . . and began to work again energetically but carefully. . . . Communism* has been suppressed, but it *stands to reason that it has not been destroyed, since it cannot be detroyed* altogether as long as it exists in other countries. It would be a mistake to underestimate this danger."

For once, Goering, the Minister and Police President of Prussia, spoke the truth. Communism really cannot be destroyed just as the working class cannot be destroyed while capitalism exists. And the history of the Soviet Union has shown that in contradistinction to this, the bourgeoisie not only can be, but will be, destroyed as a class, utterly and completely right throughout the world.

When we speak of Germany we cannot pass by in silence the fact that five years have passed since the historic May Day of the year 1929, when the then Police President of Berlin, the social-democrat, Zoergiebel, who is now receiving a pension from the Hitler Government for his services to finance capital, shot down a revolutionary demonstration of workers. At that time German social-democracy was still the most powerful party in the Second International. It was in power. It taught "the democratic path to Socialism", and ridiculed the Communists who called for the revolutionary struggle against capitalism, fascism and war, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, and for Soviet Power in Germany. At that time German social-democracy forbade First of May demonstrations. At the time it shot down workers' demonstrations in the name of democracy, and 33 workers, courageous unto death, were shot dead on May First, 1929, by the bullets of Zoergiebel's policemen. At that time it, German social-democracy, disbanded the mass revolutionary organization of the proletariat (the Red Front Fighters League, etc.). At that time it prohibited the revolutionary working class press (*Die Rote Fahne*). At that time it, German social-democracy, which was in power, prepared the prohibition of the Communist Party and the organization of the suppression of the working class by fascist methods. Only five years have passed since that time. But what years! Now German social-democracy no longer exists as an organized party, although its fragments and remnants among the masses continue to play the role of main social support of the bourgeoisie. But the Communists are alive, and in spite of the persecution carried on by the social-democrats when in power, in spite of their deception of the workers by slogans of democracy, in spite of the fact that Hitler has come to power and in spite of his ferocious fascist terror, the Communist Party of Ger-

many is becoming the only mass Party of the working class in Germany.

The path taken by German social-democracy is being followed by every section of the Second International without exception, whatever the "Left" phrases with which they cover themselves. On the First of May, 1934, they all have shown their treacherous faces.

The international revolutionary proletariat brands with shame the reformist leadership of the English trade unions, which, in spite of protests from the lower organizations of the Labor Party and the trade unions, decided to postpone the May Day celebrations from May 1 to the first Sunday in May, namely, on May 6, and which thereby attempted to transform the celebrations into a peaceful Sunday afternoon parade that could give no offense to the bourgeoisie. The revolutionary French proletariat are indignant at the fact that on the day when militant First of May demonstrations took place in Paris, when barricade fighting took place on the streets, the "Left" social-fascist Zhiromski was at work in the State institution where he is employed, while the leader of the reformist trade union, M. Jouhaux, vanished from Paris altogether.

It will be remembered, however, that the German proletariat, in spite of the social-fascists and the whole of their apparatus of bourgeois demination, rose to the revolutionary struggle in 1929, an event which became "a turning point in the class struggle in Germany" (Resolution of the Tenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.), an event which demonstrated that the pace at which the German working class movement was rising was being accelerated. *In the same way the First of May revolutionary actions in 1934 are the clearest evidence as to how far the mighty process of the liberation of the proletariat of the capitalist countries has moved forward from the democratic, pacifist, and reformist illusions and traditions* with which they have been inculcated for tens of years by the social-democratic hirelings of the bourgeoisie.

Further, these actions show how far forward has gone the *mighty process of transferring the basic masses of the proletariat onto the path of revolutionary struggle, onto the path of Bolshevism.* The First of May, 1934, in the capitalist world was a holiday celebrated by militant growing Communism!

All the forces of the fascist counter-revolution, of the bourgeois State, and social-fascism were cast against the working class. Not for many years has so much blood flowed on the streets of the capitalist cities which at one time or other boasted of their civilization and democracy. Never before did the White Terror of the bourgeoisie assume such a monstrous mass character. Never before have hundreds and thousands of workers who were arrested at the demonstrations been threatened "by law" with the death sentence for participation in the celebration of May Day (as they are being threatened even in France, the country which only yesterday was "a lever of democracy"), or for the mere distribution of Communist leaflets (as does the terrorist law issued by the fascist Government especially for the First of May in Germany). Never before were the capitals of European, American and Asiatic cities so filled with such huge mobilization of policemen and troops as on the First of May, 1934. We need only note, for instance, that 12 regiments of infantry and 10 squadrons of cavalry were concentrated in Paris. In addition to the permanent garrison in Paris, reinforcements were drawn in from Cherbourg, Rouen, Nantes, Brest, Rennes, Nevers, Bourges, Orleans, Strasbourg (an artillery regiment) and other cities. Tanks and heavy artillery, etc., were concentrated in the city. The bourgeoisie felt as though it was on the edge of a flaming volcano which was preparing for an inevitable eruption.

In spite of this rabid terror with which the bourgeoisie attempted to scare the proletarian masses, at no time in the years following the first round of revolutions have the May Day demonstrations borne such a militant, such a revolutionary character, as on the First of May, 1934.

Four points characterize the militant activities of the First of May. First, *the stormy development of the strike form of protest* against the bourgeoisie and against fascism. These strikes more and more assumed the character of a *general political strike.* Second, *the tremendously sharpened revolutionary character of the actions of the proletariat* whose hatred for the regime of exploitation and terror begin to be transformed into open armed struggle, into barricade fighting and conflicts with the police and fascist bands everywhere. Third, *the growing striving of the proletariat towards unity* in the class struggle, which broke down all barriers set in the path of the establishment of the militant unity of action by the social-fascists. And fourth, *the overwhelming domination of Communist slogans in the First of May demonstrations,* slogans of revolutionary struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and for Soviet Power throughout the whole world.

We will quote just a few examples of the May Day struggles in different capitalist countries without setting ourselves the task of giving any exhaustive picture of the movement.

Austria. Under the leadership of the Communist Party which has become transformed in an exceedingly short time into a mass Party, the workers carried through revolutionary open-air meetings and demonstrations in all the districts in Vienna, which are famous after the days of the heroic struggle (Favoriten, Moedling, Ottakring, Floridsdorf, Brigittenau, etc.). In the woods near Vienna in Tafelberg

10,000 workers organized a revolutionary May Day meeting just as had been done in the old times of Czarist illegality. A police airplane discovered the place dispersed by detachments of gendarmes and of the Government Schutz corps. On the eve of the First of May the treacherous Austrian social-democracy called on the workers "to clench their fists, and to stay at 'home" (Austrian *Arbeiter-Zeitung,* issued in Czechoslovakia).

France. The strike struggle in France developed on an unheard-of scale. It is especially worthy of note that in France an important section of the workers went on strike in the munitions plants (the sphere which still remains the weakest in the practical activity of the Communist Parties throughout the capitalist world). In Toulon the strike embraced 90 per cent of the workers employed in the military arsenal. In the military and naval arsenals in ——, Bourges, Brest, Lorient, Cherbourg and Toulouse, a large section of the workers went on strike. The demonstrations which took place in the whole of France, and especially in Paris, took on a genuine revolutionary character. Barricade fighting took place in the Paris district of Alfortville. The workers were masters of the streets for the entire day, and it was only at night that the police cleared the proletarian district after long continued fighting. The same took place in the working class suburb of Jeanne d'Arc in Paris which the police succeeded in occupying only at four o'clock in the morning. The Paris authorities decided to wipe the heroic working class suburb from the face of the earth.

L'Humanite was perfectly correct in declaring that "the government was able to convince itself that the Paris workers are children of the Commune, that they will not allow themselves to be frightened and that they are not prepared to hand over the working class districts to the fascists and police".

The strikes, revolutionary demonstrations, and conflicts with the police, which took place throughout the whole of France, are witness to the fact that in France also a tremendous turn has taken place in the direction of speeding up of the ripening of a revolutionary crisis.

Japan. In spite of the monstrous oppression of the fascist military clique, and of the absolutist autocratic regime, in spite of the tremendous wave of chauvinism, and in spite of the war, workers' First of May demonstrations took place in many centers in Japan. In Osaka alone, over 15,000 proletarians took part in the demonstrations. Even in Tokyo, the citadel of the Japanese monarchy, two revolutionary First of May processions took place which collected over 4,000 participants.

China. In Shanghai alone, over 20,000 workers struck work. According to information printed in the bourgeois press, all the factories were closed. No newspapers appeared. Martial law was introduced in the working class districts.

Spain. Here the First of May struggle developed into a general strike.

A general strike also took place in *Belgium.* On the streets of *Warsaw,* Communist demonstrations kept taking place during the whole of May Day, breaking through to Bank Square. The biggest factories in Warsaw struck work on the First of May. For the first half of the day the trams ceased running. Revolutionary demonstrations took place in Lemberg, Lodz, the Dombrowa Basin, and other industrial districts in Poland.

In *New York* alone, over 200,000 workers and employees took part in a demonstration and meeting held on May Day.

In the capital of *Mexico* 60,000 workers struck work.

In *Athens* soldiers refused to carry out the instructions of their officers to use their swords for the purpose of dispersing a workers' demonstration.

What needs to be noted above all is the stormy pace at which the *mass revolutionary heroism of the toilers* is growing. The mighty epoch of proletarian revolution and the construction of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. gives birth to great people who rise to political struggle and revolutionary creative activity right from the heart of the toiling laboring masses. All the friends of the Soviet Union followed with beating hearts the firm will and unshakable determination of the Chelyuskinites, the heroic deeds of the Soviet airmen, the heroes of the Land of the Soviets, Comrades Molokov, Kaminin, Lyapidevsky, etc. But although only a hundred of the toilers of the Socialist Soviet Union achieved such world fame, millions of others, on Socialist construction jobs, or employed in gigantic machine construction, chemical and metallurgical enterprises, etc., on collective farm and State farm lands, at their studies in thousands of schools and universities, in the workers, and peasants' Red Army, are carrying out their heroic task of constructing Socialism for the beloved Fatherland of the Toilers throughout the world.

But here are the names of the heroes of revolutionary struggle against capitalism, against fascism, names which will remain eternally in the memory of emancipated mankind.

Johann Scheer and other vanguard fighters for Communism in Germany, tortured and murdered by fascism, who remained true to their duty as proletarian revolutionaries to the very end. Comrade Leutgens who issued a revolutionary Communist call to the toilers of the whole world before he died under the executioner's axe. The social-democrat, Weissel, hero of the Austrian armed struggle, executed by the fascist murderers, who cried out before he died: "Long live the U.S.S.R.", "Long live the Communist

International", and his wife who said when taking her last farewell from her husband: "I shall do everything so that your children shall be worthy of you." The plain working girl, the 16-year-old seamstress, Emma Ritt from Czernowitz, who when the investigating attorney declared that she was threatened with a term of hard labor imprisonment, sang *The International* in reply, and who, when the attorney sat down, cried out, "Stand up, I am singing *The International*". Or the old working woman, mother of the worker Willemin who was killed in the recent fight with the fascists in Belleville, France. After the death of her son she joined the Communist Party, addressing words of boundless hatred to the bourgeoisie: "We will take our revenge".

And finally, George Dimitroff, hero of the revolutionary struggle against fascism, who placed the fascist rulers in the dock, and who enthused the German workers with revolutionary faith and confidence in the oncoming and not distant victory of Communism.

Today these are no longer isolated individuals. They include the 300,000 members of the mighty ranks of the workers and peasants' Red Army of China. They include the glorious fighters in the Austrian armed struggle. They include the heroic strikers in Spain. They include the fighters of Alforville and other districts in France who fought on the barricades against the police and the fascists. They include tens and hundreds of thousands of workers in all capitalist countries who are arising to the revolutionary struggle. And tomorrow they will include millions.

> "A whole series of 'legal positions' have been taken away from the working class, but it has become steeled by its experiences, and is receiving fierce but useful lessons in illegal organization, illegal struggle and the preparation of its forces for the revolutionary storm." (*Lenin*, Collected Works, Vol. 23, p. 107, Russian edition.)

Around the Communist Parties battalions are growing and becoming steeled—battalions of those who seek revenge, who are rising to the last decisive battle against the bourgeoisie. Heroism is becoming the class prowess of the proletariat of the whole world. The class heroism of the proletarians who are selflessly fighting against the bourgeoisie is the most noteworthy feature of our epoch, the most noteworthy feature of the Communist May Day of the year 1934.

The Communists are faced with many tasks as yet unsolved. Their work still has many weak spots. In the capitalist countries they do not as yet stand at the head of the majority of the workers. They have not yet transformed the factories into fortresses of the Bolshevik Parties. Their work in the reformist and fascist unions is still impermissably weak. Their positions in the armies of the opponent are still absolutely insignificant. They have still not yet sufficiently linked up the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat with the growing ferment of the toiling peasantry. They have still not yet reorganized their Party ranks sufficiently to correspond to the new fighting situation which is ripening swiftly throughout the whole of the capitalist world. But today, faced with the tremendous May Day actions, faced with the stormy growth of the heroism of the toiling masses, the words of the great leader of the world proletariat, Vladmir Ilyitch Lenin, sound prophetic:

> "Let the 'Socialist squelchers' croak, let the bourgeosie spit fury and rage. Only people who shut their eyes so as not to see and fill up their ears so as not to hear, can fail to notice that throughout the whole world internecine conflicts have begun in the old capitalist world which is pregnant with Socialism. We have every ground for regarding the future with complete confidence and with absolute certainty, a future which is preparing us new allies, new victories of Socialist construction in a number of the more advanced countries. We have the right to be proud and to consider ourselves lucky that we were the first, in one corner of the globe, to cast down the wild beast, capitalism, which covered the world in blood, reduced humanity to hunger and wildness, and which will perish inevitably and speedily, however monstrous the animal manifestations of its frenzies before its demise." (*Lenin*, Collected Works, Vol. 22, p. 109, Russian edition.)

THE LEADER OF THE WORLD PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

By V. KNORIN

THE history of the class struggle contains many noble and unforgettable names. Mithridates and Spartacus were leaders of slave revolts against slave owners. Thomas Muenzer and Florian Geyer, Stenka Razin and Pugatcheff were leaders of peasant revolts against the feudal aristocracy. Marat and Danton, Hebert and Robespierre led and directed bourgeois revolutions against feudalism. These names will always remain in the history of mankind. Campenella, Babeuf, Fourier, St. Simon, Robert Owen, the great utopian Socialists, will always shine as beacons marking the path of development of Socialist thought.

The toiling masses have risen hundreds of times in struggle against their oppressors, but have always been defeated. The brilliant plans of the utopian Socailists remained unreal impracticable dreams. Social formations and forms of exploitation changed. In place of slave-owning society came feudal society, to be replaced in time by capitalist society, but the exploitation and oppression of man by man remained unchanged.

Only capitalism prepared the objective prerequisites for Socialism. It created its own grave digger—the proletariat. But for the toilers to be able to throw off the oppression of their oppressors, it was necessary for the revolutionary movement of the oppressed masses to turn into an organized conscious Socialist struggle for power, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, led by a revolutionary proletarian Party.

Marx and Engels turned Socialism from a utopia into a science. They showed the toilers the path towards the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the path towards Socialism through the violent overthrow of the ruling classes. They formed the first international party of the struggle for Communism, the First International.

Lenin, the great thinker who continued the work of Marx and Engels, created the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution, the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and formed a mass revolutionary Party in Russia for the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and Socialism. He led the proletariat and the peasants of the U.S.S.R. to victory over the exploiting classes and to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat on one-sixth of the globe. He formed a new international workers' association—the Communist International.

Stalin, who took over from Lenin the struggle for Socialism, developed Lenin's teachings still further, gave a practical plan of struggle for Socialism, and on this basis brought the toiling masses to the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., and at the same time strengthened the position of the international Socialist revolution.

Lenin proved in practice that the victory of the toilers over capital throughout the world is not a dream and not a matter for the distant future. This victory can be achieved in the class struggle if the proletariat of capitalist countries, following the example of the proletariat of the U.S.S.R., form a Party which is strictly centralized, which knows the aim of its struggle and is supremely faithful to the cause of the liberation of the toilers. Continuing the work of Marx, Engels and Lenin, Stalin brought into existence in the U.S.S.R. the boldest dreams of the best representatives of mankind of all times on the subject of Socialism, smashing the opportunist dogmas of the Second International regarding the impossibility of the construction of Socialism in such a country as Russia, a country having only a medium economic development. Stalin concentrated in himself all the best traditions of the international workers' movement, all the experience of the class struggle of many centuries and all the experience of the struggle of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R.

Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin. . . .

These four names have penetrated deeply into the minds of the revolutionary masses of the world.

Stalin. . . .

He rose from the very midst of the toiling masses. As far back as thirty years ago, in the pamphlet *A Glance at Differences Within the Party,* he set out the main problems of the Bolshevik Party in a way which can be set alongside the works of Lenin, and which should become part of the iron arsenal of Bolshevism. In 1912 he elaborated in detail Lenin's teachings on the national question, and his pamphlet *Marxism and the National Question* can be compared only with Lenin's works on this question. At the Sixth Congress of the Bolsheviks, he deputized for Lenin as the speaker giving the report of the C.C., and gave an interpretation of the basic problems of Bolshevism and the prospects in its struggle for power and Socialism which has been put at the basis of all the further activity of our Party.

After the death of Lenin, Stalin took on himself

the defense of Leninism against the neo-Mensheviks and Trotskyites who tried to distort Leninism just as Kautsky and Bernstein had distorted Marxism. It became urgently necessary to present Leninism in such a way as to beat off every attempt to distort it and to bring Leninist theory to the forefront. It was precisely this presentation of Leninism which was given by Stalin in his lectures on the *Foundations of Leninism* at Sverdlov University.

The significance of these lectures for spreading Socialist consciousness and Marxist-Leninist theory among the masses can only be compared with the significance of such works as *The Communist Manifesto, Capital,* the *Critique of the Gotha Programme, What Is to Be Done?, State and Revolution, Imperialism* and *"Left-Wing" Communism.*

Translated into *all* the languages of the U.S.S.R. and into *all* the principal languages of the peoples of capitalist and colonial countries, into French and Annamite, English, Urdu and Bengali, Chinese and Japanese, Spanish, Italian and Portuguese, German, Dutch and Malayan, Comrade Stalin's book has become the *basic* source of Marxist-Leninist conceptions and revolutionary study for the toilers of all countries.

* * *

The opportunists tried their best to stamp Leninism—this international theory of the proletariat—as a product of purely Russian conditions. What did Stalin do? He defended Leninism as the theory of the international proletariat, as Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and the proletarian revolution, as the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution in general, as the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular.

On the basis of the Leninist theory of imperialism and proletarian revolution, in contrast to all the social-democratic and neo-Menshevik theoreticians, on the basis of the inexorable Marxian laws of the development of capitalism, Stalin in *Foundations of Leninism* formulated three principles determining the course of all world development:

> "1. An intensification of the revolutionary crisis in the capitalist countries, and the growth of an explosion on the internal, proletarian front in the 'mother countries'."
>
> "2. An intensification of the revolutionary crisis in the colonial countries and a strengthening of the spirit of revolt against imperialism on the external front, the colonial front."
>
> "3. The inevitability of wars under imperialism and . . . the inevitability of a coalition between the proletarian revolution in Europe and the colonial revolution in the East leading to the formation of a united world front of the revolution as against the world front of imperialism." *

These three principles of the Leninist theory of imperialism and proletarian revolution which were defended by Stalin in the struggle against the opportunists gave a revolutionary *direction and orientation* to the Communist International for the whole subsequent period.

Based on the Leninist theory that imperialism is dying capitalism, because it has carried the contradictions of capitalism to the furthest boundary, beyond which revolution begins, Stalin developed Lenin's thesis of the necessity of the working class proceeding to new methods of struggle for the destruction of the almighty power of monopolist capital:

> "In order to fight against this omnipotence, the customary methods of the working class (trade unions and co-operative organizations, political parties and the parliamentary struggle) were quite insufficient. Either place yourself at the mercy of capital, starve and sink lower and lower, or adopt a new weapon—this is the alternative imperialism puts before the vast army of the proletariat." **

In practice this meant the necessity for a most determined struggle against the parties of the Second International, who, taking advantage of scattered principles and fragments of the theory of Marx, torn from the living revolutionary struggle of the masses, tried to keep the masses under their influence. Stalin deduced four principles from Lenin's teachings as the program of this struggle:

> "First of all, that the theoretical dogmas of the Second International be tested in the crucible of revolutionary struggle of the masses, in the crucible of everyday experience; that is to say, the restoration of harmony between theory and practice which had been destroyed, and the healing of the rift between them. Only in this way can a truly revolutionary proletarian party, armed with a revolutionary theory, be formed.
>
> "Secondly, the policy of the parties of the Second International must be tested, not according to their slogans and resolutions (these cannot be trusted), but according to their deeds and actions, for only in this way can we win and deserve the confidence of the proletarian masses.
>
> "Thirdly, the whole of the work of the Party must be reorganized and attuned to a new revolutionary spirit in the education and preparation of the masses for the revolutionary struggle, for only in this way can the masses be prepared for the proletarian revolution.
>
> "Fourthly, it requires *self-criticism* within the proletarian parties, their education and instruction

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* J. Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism*, pages 31-32, International Publishers, 1932.

** *Ibid.*, page 11.

from their own mistakes, for only in this way can cadres and true leaders of the Party to be trained."*

* * *

The ten years which have passed since the appearance of Stalin's lectures, *The Foundations of Leninism,* have been full of the greatest changes and big events throughout the world.

The U.S.S.R. has been converted from a country backward both culturally and economically, a country of small peasants, into an industrial country, a country of big collective agriculture, a country which is technologically advanced. In strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, the U.S.S.R. has liquidated the last considerable exploiting class—the kulaks—and is building the first classless Socialist society in the history of mankind. The dogma of the Second International that the proletariat cannot and should not take power unless it has a majority in the country, unless it already has a sufficiently large cultured and administrative personnel capable of carrying on the proper administration of the country —has been utterly destroyed. The dogma that the method of the general political strike and the armed insurrection are inapplicable for the proletariat has been finally destroyed.

Who will believe these dogmas now when the proletariat of the U.S.S.R., who form a minority in the country, having taken power by means of an armed insurrection, without having their own cultural cadres, formed these cadres and are building the classless Socialist society? Who will now believe the social-democrats who promised to lead to Socialism by peaceful methods, but in reality in Germany and Austria led to fascism, led to new imperialist wars and the indescribable poverty of the masses, and who are themselves collapsing under the pressure of the sharpening of international contradictions and of their ally, fascism.

It is not surprising that some of the leaders of social-democracy are now passing over directly to the fascists (Severing and Loebe in Germany, Mosley in England, etc.), while some are trying to maneuver, recognizing in words the necessity of abandoning reformism and passing on to the struggle for revolution. It is not surprising that the masses who not long since followed the social-democrats are now turning towards the Communists.

Socialist construction in the Soviet Union has had a tremendous influence on the development of the international revolution. The growth of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. is rousing the toilers of all countries to the struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, for Socialism in their country. The victory of Socialism in our country has become a mighty force *accelerating the historic course* of the world proletarian revolution.

Leninism decisively destroyed the traditions of the Second International which accepted imperialist domination in respect to colonial peoples. Stalin still further elaborated Lenin's teachings on revolutions in colonial countries. The great example of the U.S.S.R. rouses the colonial peoples to the struggle for their agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution. The teachings of Lenin and Stalin on the national question have united and enlightened the young national proletarian cadres who became the leaders of the revolution in dependent and colonial countries. The Communists of imperialist countries are learning that their struggle is closely connected with the struggle of the colonial peoples.

The development of the revolutionary movement in colonial and dependent countries did not make it possible for capitalism to make its stabilization firm but constantly undermined it. The growth of revolutions in the colonial and dependent countries undermines the entire imperialist system. The Chinese Soviet Revolution has already become a powerful international anti-imperialist factor. The confinement of the workers' movement to Europe, practiced by the Second International (which in essence was *only* European), has been destroyed. The workers' movement in imperialist countries is united with the movement of the oppressed peoples in the dependent and colonial countries.

* * *

In his report to Fourteenth Conference of the C.P.S.U., Stalin gave in a concentrated form the theories of imperialism and proletarian revolution, theories which were elaborated by Lenin and which served as a key to the understanding of the entire development of the world situation. The stabilization of capitalism, which had begun, required that its place be determined in the general process of the development of capitalism and proletarian revolution:

> "But if the revolution in Europe has begun to decline, must we not conclude that Lenin's theory of a new epoch, the epoch of the world revolution, is out of date? Does this not mean that the proletarian revolution in the West is no longer a question of practical politics?" *

Stalin gives a clear answer to these questions:

> "The epoch of world revolution constitutes a new stage in the revolution, it covers a whole strategic period which may occupy years or even decades. In the course of this period there will occur, nay must occur, ebbs and flows in the revolutionary tide.

* *Ibid.*, page 20.

* J. Stalin, *Leninism*, Vol. I, page 220. International Publishers, 1931.

". . . the revolution does not deevlop along a straight, continuous, and upwardly aspiring line, but along a zigzag path, by means of a forward and a backward march, an ebb and a flow in the tide; these advances and retreats temper the revolutionary fighters and prepare them for the final victory." *

At the Fifteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U., on the basis of the further development of events, Stalin said:

"From partial stabilization develops an intensive crisis within the capitalist system, the developing crisis shatters stabilization—such is the dialectic of capitalist development at the present historical moment."

And further:

". . . revolutionary energy has accumulated within the working class, which seeks and will seek an opportunity, a chance, apparently perhaps, a very insignificant one, a mere accident, in order to break through and challenge the capitalist regime."

This means that all the energy, all the forces of the international Communist movement, must be directed more than ever to win over the masses, to prepare them for the decisive class battles, because there is no Chinese wall between a revolutionary upsurge and a revolutionary situation.

The world economic crisis already existed at the time of the Sixteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. On the basis of his analysis, Stalin states that *"The antagonisms between the most important imperialist countries" . . . "Between the victorious and vanquished countries . . ." "Between the imperialist states and the colonial and dependent countries; . . ." "Between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat"* . . . are becoming more naked and more acute; that "the stabilization of capitalism is coming to an end"; "that the revival of the revolutionary movement of the masses will develop with new force"; that "the world economic crisis will in a number of countries grow into a political crisis," that the bourgeoisie will seek a way out of the situation by further fascization and a new imperialist war; that the proletariat "will seek a way out through revolution".**

Finally, at the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U., Stalin stated that "Capitalism has succeeded in somewhat easing the position of industry *at the expense of the workers";* that "what we are witnessing is the transition from the lowest point of decline of industry, from the lowest depth of the industrial crisis to a depression, not an ordinary depression, but to a depression of a special kind which does not lead to a new boom and flourishing industry, but which, on the other hand, does not force it back to the lowest point of decline". He states that "A result of the protracted economic crisis was the hitherto unprecedented acuteness of the political situation in capitalist countries, both within the respective countries as well as between them"; that "quite clearly things are moving towards a new war"; that "a revolutionary crisis is maturing and will continue to mature". But at the same time, returning to the idea which he developed as early as the Fourteenth Conference, he again emphasized the question of the necessity for a *strong, powerful Communist Party.*

* * *

Ten years of the Stalinist estimate of the international situation. But all together they comprise one united whole. This is because every conclusion made by Stalin arises from an exceptionally profound analysis of facts and events based on scientific theory, the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin. This is the only scientific theory which can carry with it the millions of toilers, because it is the theory of the overthrow of the power of capital, the theory of the proletarian revolution. This theory rouses the masses, gives them confidence, because it is true, because it has been justified again and again, year after year, in the eyes of humanity's hundreds of millions.

This theory of the proletarian revolution possesses tremendous strength because it has been proved in practice in the Soviet Union, because the Soviet Union, on its basis, has become a powerful Socialist country. It is a practical guide to action for hundreds of millions of people in all the countries of the world. It was set forth in a brilliantly compact form in *Foundations of Leninism* and has been uninterruptedly developed further by Stalin in accordance with the new facts in the development of the class struggle throughout the world.

From the utopian Socialists to the powerful Soviet Government which arouses the toilers of the whole world to the struggle for Socialism by its own example, from the spontaneous movements of the masses without theory and guidance, without definite tasks and aims, to the modern revolutionary movement which has the best theory, elaborated by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin—such has been the path of development of the class struggle and of Socialism.

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* *Ibid,* pp. 220-222.

** J. Stalin, *Leninism,* Vol. II, p. 320. International Publishers, 1933.

THE NEXT TASKS OF THE INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

By A. LOSOVSKY

(Speech at the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.)

COMRADES, only a little over a year has passed since the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., but much has changed in the relations between States and classes. All the promises of the bourgeoisie and the pseudo-Marxist astrologists that they would find a way out of the crisis have turned out to be idle talk. The idea that not all is well with the capitalist system is becoming more and more widespread in leading circles of the bourgeoisie. Very characteristic in this respect is the speech recently made by the "saviour" of the capitalist world from Bolshevism, Benito Mussolini. In one of his speeches made two years ago he asked the question as to whether the developments taking place throughout the world represent a *crisis within the system or a crisis of the system itself*. Recently, however, in the fifth year of the crisis, Mussolini made the following statement to the fascist Grand Council:

> *"The crisis has penetrated so deeply into the system that it has become a crisis of the system itself. It is no longer a case of surface injury, it is an organic disease. We can state today that the capitalist mode of production has outlived itself."*

One of the captains of finance in France and one of France's leading statesmen, J. Caillaux, is no less definite in his views. This outstanding bourgeois financier has, on the basis of an analysis of the world economic situation and of the state of international finance, come to the conclusion that "this crisis is a transition from one economic order to another". We can quote dozens of similar statements which go to show that outstanding politicians of the capitalist countries and noted economists and leaders of industry are compelled to acknowledge the fact that it is now a case of a crisis of the very system itself. As to the social-fascists, even they are now gloomily writing about the end of capitalism. This means that having created so much destruction in the sphere of industry, agriculture, and finance, the crisis has shaken bourgeois ideology and the faith of bourgeois ideologists in the capitalist system. To emerge from the crisis at all costs—that is the problem. And this explains the feverish armament race, accompanied by feverish negotiations, and the ever new combinations which aim at cutting the Gordian knot and finding a way out of the crisis in the struggle for the redivision of the world and war against the Soviet Union, all of this being done, of course, under cover of a fog of pacifist phrases.

Never before have the two ideologies, the two policies—Communism and fascism—come into such sharp conflict. Both systems have their territorial bases and huge natural resources, and they clearly embody the forces of dying capitalism on the one hand and the forces of growing and victorious Communism on the other. Bolshevism, which is profoundly international, and is organically linked up in theory and practice with the international proletariat and the toiling masses of the colonies, stands face to face with the zoological nationalism and animal-like rage of counter-revolution which is now exerting all its strength to hold up and turn back the wheels of history. In this struggle between Communism and fascism, international social-democracy which has suffered a moral, political, and organizational defeat in connection with the bankruptcy of German social-democracy, has taken the side of fascism and is callously, cynically, or under cover of "Left" phrases, carrying out its basic line, namely, "Better fascism than Bolshevism".

The report of Comrade Kuusinen, the co-reports of Comrades Pieck and Pollitt, the speeches of Comrades Piatnitsky, Manuilsky, Knorin, Lenski, Thorez, Wan Ming, Okano and others, have already thrown light upon the basic problems which now confront the international Communist movement. I will therefore devote my speech to a series of trade union questions which in spite of their trade union modesty are of serious political significance in this period of preparation for revolution into which we are entering. Never before have *trade union* questions assumed, to such an extent, the importance of *political* questions.

The first question requiring an answer is the following:

What has happened to international reformism since the Twelfth Plenum, what is the position of our main enemy within the working class, *viz.*, international social-democracy, and what stage of regression has been reached by the Amsterdam and Second Internationalists?

The crash of the German trade unions and German social-democracy has caused not only organizational and financial losses to the Second and Amsterdam Internationals, but it has been a great moral and poli-

tical blow to them. If we limit ourselves to just the trade union sphere we get the following picture: The membership of the Amsterdam International, which was about 13,000,000 at the end of 1932, has fallen after the defeat of the German General Federation of Labor (A.D.G.B.) to 8,000,000. The same has been the fate of all the international trade union federations which are under the direct political influence of the Amsterdam International. Thus, for example, in the Food Workers International, the Germans accounted for 29.8 per cent of the total membership. Among the builders the figure was 43.9 per cent, among the earthenware workers 83.3 per cent, among the leather workers 44 per cent, among office employees 50 per cent, among the printing workers 37 per cent, among the quarry workers 53 per cent, among the postal workers 54 per cent, among municipal workers 55 per cent, among tobacco workers 61 per cent, among glass workers 65 per cent, among metal workers 44.8 per cent, etc. Immediately after the capitulation of the German trade union bureaucracy, the leaders of the Amsterdam International, constrained by the disgust of the masses, began to express their criticism of the conduct of their German colleagues. Then the second period came on, when the Amsterdam leaders passed from condemnation of the Germans to expressions of sympathy, to forgiveness and justification of their policy and tactics. How can we explain this change in the tactics of the Amsterdam leaders? This is to be explained by the fact that the bankruptcy of the German trade union bureaucracy signifies the moral and political bankruptcy of the reformist trade union bureaucrats in other countries. Having begun by criticizing the capitulation of the German reformists, they discovered that the disgust of the masses with reformist policy in general was directed along these lines. This, therefore, compelled the trade union leaders to make a complete change in their tactics, and they began to look for factors which would lessen the guilt of the leaders of the German trade unions, and prove that they could not have acted otherwise.

But the fact remains that the membership of the Amsterdam International was reduced at one blow by 39 per cent, and from the European International it had been, it became transformed in the main into a federation of trade union members of the countries of the Entente, who under the banner of struggle against fascism are actually carrying out the policy of the Entente. This may be seen from the slogan calling for the boycott of German goods, the aim of which is to increase exports from their own countries. This may be seen further from the attitude taken by the Amsterdam International towards the Austrian problem. The Amsterdam International set up a special commission to render assistance to the Austrian trade unions, but this aid is directed along lines worked out by the French General Staff, and the commission keeps strictly within the framework of these directives (financial aid for anti-German strikes, etc.).

The International reformist trade union movement received a heavy blow for another reason, namely, that Germany provided an example demonstrating the relative value and stability of the big mass reformist trade unions and the small Red trade unions and revolutionary trade union opposition. Everyone knows that German fascism aimed its chief blow against the Communist Party and the Red Trade Union Opposition. How did it happen that the Red trade unions and Red Trade Union Opposition, which were weaker than the A.D.G.B., have held out, and notwithstanding their heavy losses, are continuing their work and are establishing independent class unions under the most difficult conditions, whereas the German General Federation of Labor (the A.D.G.B.), with its huge apparatus, its millions of members, its rich treasury, etc., after the first serious blow, has disappeared from the scene of political struggle? The German social-democrats themselves, both in Germany and abroad, have raised the slogan with regard to the A.D.G.B. and their Party, that "the apparatus has died, long live the movement!" How did this happen? The German example proves once more that numbers are not the decisive factor in the struggle. The decisive factor is quality, *i. e.*, that a correct revolutionary policy be pursued by the given organization, and this correct policy can only be a Bolshevik policy. The small Red Trade Union Opposition, with its correct militant policy, has weathered the storm and is continuing the struggle, but the huge German General Federation of Labor, with its reformist and anti-working class policy, has ceased to exist. It would be a mistake to draw the conclusion that we do not need to pay attention to quantity. No the conclusion to be drawn is that it is necessary to combine quantity with revolutionary Bolshevik quality and then we will be able to fulfill our tasks in the struggle for Soviet Power.

The bankruptcy of the German trade unions could not but create a great feeling of indignation among the masses of reformist workers in all countries. They are now asking their leaders what has happened to the million-strong trade unions in Germany. The leaders are maneuvering and are trying to put the blame on the Communists, but this is much more difficult than it was before, because even the bourgeois press throughout the world acknowledges the fact that the Communist Party and the Red Trade Union Opposition are conducting an heroic struggle against fascism, whereas the leaders of the social-democracy, both in Germany and abroad, simply pass their time debating the question as to how good it would be if

things were better, while attempting to put the blame for their own bankruptcy upon the working class of Germany.

The rapidly progressing process of fascization in capitalist countries, of course, creates *additional difficulties* for us in our work, but the sharpness of class relations, the unheard of bankruptcy of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals, create *new great possibilities for us.* Our main enemy within the working class has become weaker but has not completely disappeared, even in Germany where social-democracy is attempting to revive its organizations and to hold the workers back from the united front with us, and once again to direct the energy of the masses along the lines of "democratic socialism." However, the situation has changed. International social-democracy now has a much smaller field for maneuvering, and this creates new possibilities for the Comintern and the Profintern not only in the capitalist countries, but in the colonies and semi-colonies.

International social-democracy has been considerably weakened since the Twelfth Plenum, although in a number of countries (Great Britain, France, Czechoslovakia, etc.) it still has millions of followers. As far as our struggle is concerned, the situation has become more favorable notwithstanding new difficulties. *The rank and file Social-Democratic worker listens more attentively now to our words and proposals, and is more ready than previously to struggle alongside of us.* Proof of this is contained not only in all the information we receive from Germany, but also in the numerous facts quoted here by speakers from various countries. *The relation of forces within the working class has changed in our favor.*

The central task facing the international Communist movement is to prepare the working class for the struggle for Soviet Power. Everything else is subordinate to this central task. What, then, is the obstacle which hinders the preparation of the broad masses for the revolution? What needs to be done for the preparatory period to be passed through as rapidly as possible and to achieve the transition to the period of action?

Of all the conditions which are needed for the direct struggle for power in the countries where the elements of a revolutionary crisis are rapidly maturing, the one thing lacking for us is the majority of the working class. *Therefore the problem of problems at the present time is the struggle for the majority of the working class.* What needs to be done in order to approach this central strategic task more rapidly? All the congresses and plenums of the Comintern and the R.I.L.U. have dealt with this, and especially insistent in this regard were the Eleventh and Twelfth Plenums of the E.C.C.I. The working class will come to Communism in the long run, but the path can and must be shortened by the use of tested Bolshevik methods of winning over the masses. Experience teaches us that we should seize on the elementary demands of the workers, that we should develop the struggle of the employed and the unemployed for their vital demands (questions of wages, social insurance, unemployment relief, etc.) and not set up a theory that the working class is split into two permanent groups, the employed and unemployed (Varga). All these questions should excite our organizations, which must take an interest in them. The Party organizations must all the time urge the revolutionary trade unions and the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition (R.T.U.O.) to direct their energies towards these everyday tasks. The nearer we approach these questions, the more varied the economic struggle becomes, and the easier will it be to switch the economic struggle over into a political struggle, to transfer economic strikes into political strikes, and to win the masses rapidly to our side.

Since the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., the sections of the Comintern and the R.I.L.U. have conducted a number of very serious economic and political struggles. The delegates from France, U.S.A., Japan, Great Britain, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the Balkan countries, etc., have already spoken about them here. They have all quoted good and bad examples, and they have all very seriously examined here the weaknesses and mistakes of the Party and trade union organizations in conducting these struggles. But if we ask ourselves what is common in all this self-criticism, what are the characteristic features of all the positive and negative examples given here, we must say that they are as follows:

1. The insufficiently consistent, systematic and stubborn preparations of these struggles.

2. The inability to utilize and consolidate even those movements which arose and developed under our direct leadership.

3. The uneven nature of our activity, *i. e.,* after intense efforts during the struggle and the movement, a decline of energy and a halving in activity.

Even if we examine the best movements, we find in them, with few exceptions, all three of these elements or one of them. This is why, in spite of the growth and the influence of the Communist Party, we move ahead organizationally with extreme slowness, with few exceptions. I will give only two examples. The Citroen strike was the outstanding event in the working class movement in France during the last year. Have we maintained up to the present time the positions which we possessed during the strike? Have we widened them? We have to declare that not only have we failed to widen them, but we have not even kept them. It looks as if we are

waiting for a new outbreak at this factory before we display any activity. Take another example. After a long struggle Comrade Arthur Horner was elected miners' agent in South Wales, and he succeeded in getting 10,000 votes against 7,000 cast for the reformist candidate. This was a great success. Of course the Party exerted pretty big efforts to attain this. And what followed? Did the Political Bureau and the leaders of the Minority Movement discuss how Horner should work, how to utilize this position, how to organize the 10,000 miners who voted for Horner? I think that our British friends cannot give us a positive affirmative reply on this matter. Why is this? It is because they look on elections as an end in themselves, and not as a means of widening our influence, of consolidating our positions and struggling for new positions. I come to this conclusion on the basis of another example from the same region, from South Wales. In the Executive Committee of the South Wales Miners' Federation we have one Communist and two sympathizers. What is being done by this Communist and these two sympathizers, how do they carry on the work, what is their platform, in what way do they differ from the non-Communists and non-sympathizers? Nobody knows because nothing is said of this either in the Party or the trade union press.

When we win a certain position, we do not utilize it, though the reason we win positions is to utilize and widen them.

The basic task is to get right down into the midst of the masses, to explain to every worker that we are a party of revolution while the reformists are the party upholding the constitution, to use the terms which were first formulated thirty years ago at the Second Congress of the C.P.S.U., and that the reformist parties are now parties of counter-revolution.

I come once more to a question on which we have systematically adopted resolutions at all the plenums and congresses of the Comintern and the R.I.L.U. Moreover this is a question which is elaborated day by day by the Comintern and the R.I.L.U. when solving current questions of the political and economic struggle of our sections. I refer to the united front. Is everything clear on this question? Here at the plenum everything seems to be clear. But the united front suffers a series of unexpected transformations in the interval between the clear formulations and the putting of them into practice. We have seen this in the numerous examples which have been given by those who have spoken before me and especially by Comrade Piatnitsky.

We have all decided thousands and thousands of times that we form the united front only for the struggle against capital. It turns out that there are tens and hundreds of cases in which the united front is formed for joint discussions. We have all decided thousands and thousands of times that the united front does not mean the liquidation or concealment of our views. None the less, the comrades who have spoken before me have given scores of examples showing how we have been engulfed in the united front, out of fear to face the enemy with open vigor. We have all decided thousand and thousands of times that the united front does not mean the slurring over of the views and the criminal activity of the trade union bureaucrats, but we can see numerous cases—a vivid example is Strasbourg, dealt with by Fachon, in which we tie our own hands and keep quiet as to the crimes committed by the reformists. We have all decided thousands and thousands of times that the united front must be used to strengthen and consolidate our positions by recruiting workers into the Red trade unions, to strengthen and widen the opposition in the reformist and other unions, to organize factory sections, etc., but the speakers here have given a tremendous number of examples which show clearly that in some cases, after we have taken the initiative in forming the united front, we not only have not grown stronger but we have even become weaker, *i. e.*, the united front turns against us in the places where we conduct an incorrect line. Why? Because frequently the united front is understood as an agreement between the leaders, as a mutual amnesty, and not as the unity of the rank and file for the struggle against the reformist leaders.

We have all decided thousands and thousands of times that the united front must serve to bring out the initiative of the rank and file, to promote new active elements from the masses, to attract social-democratic and non-Party workers to active struggle, but experience shows that in a whole series of cases the united front does not produce these results, and that at best we and the social-democrats remain where we started. Then why a united front? What do we get from it? Why does it work this way? Why is it that the correct decisions of the Comintern and the R.I.L.U. and the overwhelming majority of the leading organs of our Parties and trade unions arrive at the lower cells in a distorted form? Why is it that in some cases even a fear of the united front shows itself? It is because the leading organs of our Parties and our revolutionary trade unions and the trade union opposition consider a question settled when they publish theses or resolutions, whereas *the question only begins with the publication of the thesis or resolution.* It is necessary not only to print resolutions but to explain the methods and forms of creating the united front in all the lower organizations, to gather together all the members of the lower organs, to mobilize all the fractions from top to bottom, to decide on a plan of action, to work it out to suit every factory, every dis-

trict, every branch of industry, and to face every member of a trade union, and especially every Communist with extremely concrete tasks. For instance, one must recruit several members to the Red trade union or the trade union opposition, another must form a group of several members at his factory, a third must distribute such and such a quantity of Party and trade union literature, a fourth must specialize on establishing contacts with the social-democratic workers, a fifth has the task of selecting a group of non-Party workers, a sixth is instructed to speak at social-democratic and fascist meetings, etc. If the lower Party organizations keep track of the activity of each one of their members, direct his work, advise him what to do, and correct his mistakes, not *post factum* several months afterwards, but while the work is being carried through, *then our work will give us hundreds of per cent more than it gives now.* The situation is taking on a more and more intense character, while our work is by no means being carried on with the intensity which is required under the present conditions.

I have spoken of *how* to apply the united front. Now I wish to speak of the question of where to apply it. The united front should be carried into practice primarily in the factories. We must take the initiative in formulating the direct demands of the workers. We must organize the interchange of opinion on questions affecting the workers of the given shop, the given factory, the interchange of opinions on more general questions of the policy of the fascists or "democratic" government, etc. We must press forward the election of all kinds of commissions for the protection of wages, to investigate the position of the workers, and of the working women, and to study the conditions of labor. We must press forward the election of delegates to present the demands of the masses, etc. As members of these delegations we should propose the most influential workers, social-democratic, and non-Party, discuss all problems with them, create a feeling of comradeship and internal discipline so that the social-democratic workers will not be able to refuse to carry out a decision adopted jointly. We must prepare movements of protest, demonstrations, strikes, etc., and must without fail draw social-democratic, non-Party workers, and workers belonging to fascist organizations as well, into all the organs leading these movements. *Activity in the factory is the starting point for the achievement of influence over the masses.* It is not essential to shout "Let's form a united front, a Red united front, a revolutionary united front", etc., etc. This is not always needed and not always useful. Even the reverse is the case. Joint actions in defense of the smallest interests of the factory workers are the united front in the best and really Bolshevik sense of the word.

Where else should we apply the united front? In the reformist, independent, and other unions. How can it be done? We, as members of the given organization, must take the initiative on ourselves and gather together the members of the trade unions employed in the given factory to discuss the specific questions affecting the workers of the shop, factory or some particular category of workers. We must get the revolutionary workers, the supporters of the revolutionary trade union movement, elected as representatives and collectors of membership dues, and make certain that we win every elected office in the factory and the union. It is not sufficient to win an elected post. We must utilize the post we occupy to distribute our literature, to agitate for our views and our tactics. We must fight against capitulation to the reformist trade union bureaucrats, for *we fight for elected positions not to get jobs for our own people, but so that we shall be able, through them, to carry on a correct policy which will be advantageous for the working class.* Through the trade union members and functionaries who sympathize with us we must organize all kinds of protests and actions to the point of strikes, all the time impelling the movement ahead against the employers, against social-fascism. Our work in the reformist trade unions must take the line of criticizing the leaders of the reformist trade union movement for their treachery, their strike-breaking. But this criticism must be conducted on the basis of concrete facts. The main thing is to organize our forces, to form a strong and firmly welded trade union opposition with a definite program and internal discipline, and *not to allow that which we have already obtained to be frittered away.* The only way to consolidate our ideological influence is through the trade union group in the factory, through the unification of all the oppositional elements in the trade union, and the unification of all the lower oppositional trade union organizations for the struggle for our program. If we take this course, our work in the reformist trade unions will produce definite positive results.

We have some positive examples from France, but they are still isolated cases. Compared with the whole mass of workers in the reformist trade unions, these examples are not very outstanding, even though they are very welcome. We must fight for the lower reformist trade union organizations. If we display boldness and stubbornness, and carry on serious work among the masses, we can obtain big results. It is sufficient to quote Denmark as an example where we have succeeded in winning the Stokers' Union to the side of the revolutionary movement. It is true that this was done with the aid of the Seamen's and Harbor Workers' International, but nevertheless this fact is something serious and positive for the work of the Communist Party and the R.T.U.O. in Den-

mark. Such things are possible in other countries as well, but only if we display the maximum flexibility, endurance and Bolshevik persistence. Otherwise, we shall lose even the positions which we have won, as in San Paolo, Brazil, for example, where we won the textile workers' union and then lost it. How can we hold our own in the reformist trade unions when the trade union bureaucrats are against us? How can we hold our own if the entire state apparatus supports the trade union bureaucrats against us? If we fight furiously for trade union democracy, if day by day we expose the system of appointing functionaries, the red tape shown in the attitude to the workers' interests, the trickery behind the scenes and cases of strikebreaking, if every step which we take is not an isolated act of a few brave and bold people but is connected with the masses, it will become more and more difficult to expel the revolutionary workers.

Where else must we carry on our work for the formation of the united front? In the fascist trade unions. There are different types of fascist trade unions, for instance, in Italy, Poland and Germany. But what is common to them all? It is that the trade union leaders are appointed, the electoral principle is abolished, membership is compulsory, etc. Along these lines we can and must carry on tremendous work. First of all, the entire work should be concentrated in the factories among the masses of members. We should mobilize the workers against compulsory membership, against the payment of membership dues to the fascist trade unions. The whole agitation and propaganda among the working masses must be conducted under the slogan: *Where Do the Workers' Pennies Go?* We should demand that the fascist officials come to the workers' meetings and say what they do with the union funds, organize a boycott of all functionaries appointed by the fascists, take the initiative of calling meetings from below to discuss where the workers' money goes, expose all the fascists as hangers-on of the capitalists, and as spies and direct agents of the bosses. If the fascists themselves hold meetings, we must get into them and by means of questions, heckling and speeches disclose the treacherous face of the fascist functionaries, and introduce our resolutions at their meetings. As the fascists have abolished the election of trade union representatives, and there is no check on the way the money is spent, we should set going in the fascist unions the slogan of elections at the factories of special supervisory committees, organs to control the expenditure of the money, special committees to protect wages, to investigate conditions of labor, etc. Every time the fascist functionaries go to the bosses, we should set talk going and arouse discontent among the masses, by putting forward the idea that it is necessary to elect special authoritative commissions to negotiate with the employers on the question of conditions of labor, and all the time lead the masses to the struggle against fascism.

The fascists are maneuvering. Mussolini has proclaimed the slogan: "To the people". In some cases the fascists are even trying to offer jobs to workers who are with us or who sympathize with us. Communists must not take jobs when appointed by the fascists. If the fascists allot a well-known influential worker who sympathizes with us to some post, the worker must not take this post without discussing the question at the factory, at a meeting of the workers. There he must say to the workers: "If you elect me, then I will carry out the functions given to me." Simultaneously he must advance the proposal that a special workers' commission should be elected to assist him, so as to work directly with the masses and strengthen his contacts with the masses. We must regard the acceptance of posts in the lower trade union organizations as an exception, but in these cases as well, the penetration into the lower organs of the fascist trade unions must be done only with the aim of disrupting them from within (collective withdrawals from the unions, etc.). But this must not be left to the initiative of individual workers. It must be discussed by the Party organization, which must be extremely vigilant, and if it decides to send anybody on such work, a thorough check must be taken of him. But even this is not enough. We must help him to carry out this difficult work. We must instruct him, tell him what to do and how to do it, otherwise the individual may find himself in the trap set by our enemies.

The question of the fascist trade unions is becoming more and more keen now in connection with the approach of war. Fascism is acting in two directions: On the one hand it is smashing even the reformist unions, and on the other hand it is forming its own unions. German fascism liquidated by decree everything that remained of the reformist, Catholic and Hirsch-Duncker trade unions, and, under the leadership of Krupp and Thyssen set up the *Labor Front*, which must be opposed by our *Workers' Front*. At the same time, in Poland an association of all the fascist trade unions (the so-called Z.Z.Z.) has been formed, the membership of which is already more than 100,000, and the basic line of the fascists is to extend this organization to all the war factories. This fact alone should make us take a much more serious attitude to the work in the fascist trade unions, to the questions of disintegrating them internally, to winning over the workers who are in these unions, and to forming points of support for ourselves in all organizations where the working masses are to be found.

I wish here to use the concrete example of the fascist trade unions in Poland to show how we should develop our work. Although Comrade Henrikowski

spoke of two types of fascist trade unions (voluntary and compulsory), in essence the difference between them is insignificant. What should Communists do in those factories where there are trade unions belonging to the fascist Association of Trade Unions? Our Party cell and illegal trade union group will carry on agitation against the workers joining the fascist trade union. If a section of the workers makes a decision which is binding on all, then we demand that a general meeting of workers be called, and also that meetings be held in the departments to discuss this question. We not only demand, but take on ourselves the initiative for calling such meetings. If we succeed in getting a general meeting or departmental meeting called, we carry a decision refusing to enter the fascist trade union, and we propose that the workers elect a committee, a commission or special delegates from the shops to discuss and decide current questions. If nevertheless all the workers are forcibly registered in the fascist union, we ourselves, of course, also join it, struggling against individual desertions from the union, which means dismissal from the factory. As members of the fascist trade union, we carry on systematic work to unite the workers, expose the leaders of the fascist trade union, the absence of democracy in it, etc., and lead the workers up to the struggle against the fascist system as a whole. If elections take place at the factory for any trade union organ (representative, delegate, member of committee, etc.), we put forward our candidates, get them elected and utilize the elected post to rouse the workers against the fascist union, showing them in practice by a series of concrete measures that the fascist trade union is an agency of the employer, while the fascist state is the weapon of finance capital for crushing the working class movement and enslaving the working class.

You may ask whether a Communist can really be a member of a fascist union? He can. Why cannot he trick the fascists and join the union at the instructions of his organization? To trick the enemy is of benefit to the working class. Lenin gave us very definite and unambiguous directives on this matter. The chief thing in such cases is systematic help to the Party organization or the Communists who carry out the line decided on. If there are no elections either at the factory or in the trade union, the committee and the representative being appointed from above, the acceptance of posts in the lower trade union organ of a fascist trade union is *permissible in the exceptional circumstances* of which I spoke above, and is dependent on the agreement of the workers of the given factory and the election of a special commission of support. The Party organization must pay special attention at these factories to the formation of *trade union groups of Communists and non-Party workers,* and on the activity of these groups the success of our work in the fascist trade unions will depend.

If we were to count up how many times the Comintern and the R.I.L.U. have passed decisions on the need to strengthen and develop work in war factories, we should get a pretty long list, quite a few years old. But we are, in the literal sense of the word, moving along at a snail's pace in this connection. Can we continue to move at such a pace? We cannot. The factories producing rifles, machine guns, and tanks, the shipyards, the gun foundries, the explosives works, the chemical factories, etc., and finally transport must now be the central objective of our efforts.

In connection with the approach of war, I should like to speak of one question, namely, sea transport, and here I include the harbor workers. It is well known that since the imperialist war all the imperialist powers, when building passenger and merchant steamers, have in view the necessity of converting them into auxiliary steamers in case of war. For this purpose special platforms are built for mounting guns, and constructional alterations are made in cargo and passenger ships so as to make their transformation easier in case of war.

What have our Parties and trade unions done to expose to the broad masses this specific form of preparation for war? Sea transport will play and cannot help playing a tremendous role in a war. What have our sections of the Comintern and the R.I.L.U. done to organize the seamen and harbor workers? Very little. And yet, there are great possibilities at the present time in this sphere. The biggest federation in the Amsterdam International was the International Transport Federation, led by the well known demagogue, Fimmen. It was the most active. The smashing of the German trade union movement led not only to this Federation being weakened numerically, but to its financial bankruptcy. The Federation even stopped the publication of its journal, even though, according to its own statement, it still has almost a million and a half members. On the other hand, in connection with the special strikebreaking policy of the International Transport Federation in the last class struggles of the seamen in the Baltic countries and in other European countries, the hatred towards this Federation is increasing among the masses. It would seem that there is every reason to gather the discontented, to organize them, to form groups, to help the International of Seamen in its work, but this is not being done. The International of Seamen and Harbor Workers which has carried on great work since the Hamburg Unity Congress does not find the proper support in the chief countries. What has the British Communist Party done to develop work among the seamen? Nothing. What has the American Communist Party done? Very little. What have the French Com-

munist Party and the C.G.T.U. done? Still less. And war is coming nearer and nearer. In this war, sea transport will play a very big role. In this sphere there are possibilities not only in the sense of forming a serious trade union opposition, but even in the sense of winning individual unions over. To ignore the work among the seamen and harbor workers is to show an insufficiently serious attitude to the approaching war. We must understand that one of the very important sections of our front is to prepare the masses for the forthcoming imperialist and anti-Soviet war. Think for a minute—if we seriously set this work going in Britain, U.S.A., France and Japan, what tremendous importance this will have for the further fate of the development of the world workers' movement and our struggle against war. Of course we cannot imagine that work among the merchant seamen is enough to deliver a shattering blow at war. That would be an exaggeration, but this is the section of the proletariat which can do more in the struggle against war than other sections of the proletariat, because the merchant seamen are most closely connected with the sailors of the navy.

Finally we should not forget that over 100,000 seamen pass through the ports of the U.S.S.R. every year. They come to our clubs, read our literature, listen to lectures, go to the Soviet cinemas and make themselves acquainted with our Socialist construction, etc. How do our Parties, our sections of the R.I.L.U. utilize these enormous permanent "workers' excursions"? We spend a long time preparing workers' delegations to the U.S.S.R. Sometimes all the workers' delegations comprise several thousand persons. The Parties, the revolutionary trade unions, the Friends of the Soviet Union and other bodies busy themselves with them. In sea transport, without the slightest effort on the part of the Parties and the revolutionary trade unions, we have over 100,000 "excursionists" a year to the U.S.S.R. They return with new impressions. Often they return already organized, but in Great Britain, for instance, they cannot find whom to get into contact with. How do the Parties utilize this tremendous mass of seamen? Do they establish contacts with those who return, and try to use them for developing and widening the work among the seamen? I know of no such cases. If they exist, it is very desirable that the comrades should not keep them secret. We must put a stop to the abnormal situation in which this sector of our front is utterly neglected, in which the seamen and harbor workers who are becoming revolutionary do not find sufficiently rapid and proper help from us. We must put an end to such a situation when the sections of the Comintern and the R.I.L.U. have a lukewarm attitude towards these problems. We must put an end to the situation in which hundreds of thousands of seamen return from the U.S.S.R., and neither the Party nor the revolutionary trade unions realize that they should utilize these natural agitators and propagandists, and not only utilize them among the seamen and harbor workers, but also among the broad strata of the workers of other branches of industry.

What are the conclusions which we have to draw from an analysis of our work since the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.?

1. At every Plenum and Congress we disclose all our weaknesses and shortcomings over and over again, and it appears that *part* of the old mistakes are repeated year after year, and simultaneously new ones are added, as can be seen from the examples quoted by Comrade Piatnitsky. Cannot we once and for all agree to make an attack with our united forces against this repetition of old mistakes?

2. The influence of the sections of the Comintern and the R.I.L.U. has undoubtedly increased, because the strength of the organization is determined not only by absolute figures, but also by comparison with other organizations, and on the basis of the circumstances in which the given organization has to struggle. If we take into consideration the tremendous intensity of all the forces of our class enemy, who uses the refined methods of terror and provocation against the revolutionary trade union movement, we must say: Yes, we have moved ahead in spite of all, even though in different sectors there are hold-ups. But we very badly consolidate our growing influence (U.S.A., Japan, France, etc.).

3. Are we moving ahead with the same speed as the growth of the prerequisites for the revolutionary crisis? No, we have an uneven process of development of the revolutionary crisis in various countries. We have an uneven development of the sections of the Comintern and the R.I.L.U. But there is one common feature characteristic of all the sections, and that is they lag behind the tempo of the development of events. This lag is smaller in some countries (China, Germany, Poland), and greater in others (France, Great Britain, U.S.A.), but it characterizes the condition of our movement.

4. Are the section of the R.I.L.U. alone to blame for this condition? No, we must say quite frankly that the leadership of the R.I.L.U. is also to blame. We have by no means done all that could have been done. We lost time in the struggle against the Amsterdam International immediately after the destruction of the German trade unions, and this loss of tempo undoubtedly did harm to the international revolutionary movement. We do not react with sufficient speed, promptness and activity to the events which are taking place, and this, of course, is bound to have an influence on the world trade union movement. Comrade Heckert has spoken of this. He

has the *right* to do so, but it was his duty also to say that he is a member of the Executive Board of the R.I.L.U. and that he also bears some responsibility for this.

5. All the efforts of the sections of the Comintern and the R.I.L.U. must be directed to overcoming this lagging at all costs and in the shortest possible time. All the efforts of the leaders of the R.I.L.U. must take this direction. Otherwise events may catch us unawares. We must bear in mind that although the sphere for the maneuvers of social-democracy has become narrower and smaller, still it continues to maneuver quite smartly. I will give an example. A few days ago, Paul Faure, the leader of the French Socialist Party, which, as you know, has now split, spoke at a big meeting in Bordeaux and literally said the following:

> "From the international point of view, we go to Geneva and together with the people of the Russian revolution we demand general disarmament. If we [?] do not achieve this, then we shall join with Soviet Russia, with the other Red Nations, and ensure international peace."

This same socialist who for long years closed his ears to the Soviet peace proposals, now threatens to form an alliance with Soviet Russia. And in order to confuse things still more, this social demagogue exclaims that he is prepared to unite with the other "Red Nations". What does this mean? What is he talking about? What Red Nations has Paul Faure found? Is this a synonym for the allies of France—Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Yugoslavia? Evidently it is. But why are these countries Red?

6. We must undermine and finally abolish the influence of social-democracy. By the example of the U.S.S.R. we must teach the working masses to fight. We must remember that events are developing with tremendous speed and that any lagging in a situation when class contradictions are rapidly developing, plays into the hands of the enemies of the proletariat. This is why the slogan of all the sections of the Comintern and the R.I.L.U. must be: "Down with lagging behind"! This is the lever which we must press at all costs to raise the sections of the Comintern and the R.I.L.U. to the necessary level.

7. The number of illegal sections of the R.I.L.U. is growing. The sections of the R.I.L.U. which are still legal may be driven underground in connection with the sharpening of the class struggle. And if our legal Communist Parties do not sufficiently prepare for this turn of events, the revolutionary trade unions and trade union opposition give still less thought to it. And yet, this question is one of extreme importance. Both the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade unions must combine a fierce struggle for the legal open existence of the revolutionary trade union movement with the adoption of a series of measures in case they are forced to go underground.

8. The intense situation sharply faces us with the question of trade union cadres for legal, semi-legal and illegal work. We must realize that this is a neglected sector. In our Communist Parties and in our revolutionary trade unions, in the revolutionary trade union opposition, we have not as yet, with few exceptions, a well thought out Bolshevik policy of cadres. Very often people are sent into the trade unions when they are no good on other work, on the mistaken supposition that they will be good there carrying on mass work. This is not true. The growth of the mass movement demands leaders and creates leaders. We must be able to train them, and promote them from the ranks. This applies to the entire revolutionary trade union movement from top to bottom.

9. The more intense the class struggle becomes, the more vigilant must the Parties be in the struggle against deviations from the general line of the Comintern. The sharper the struggle, the more attentive the Parties must be towards the leadership of the trade unions, where in view of their composition, the vacillations of which Lenin warned us are inevitable. Without tireless Party control, without the formation of Communist fractions, the revolutionary trade unions may not only lag behind themselves but drag a certain part of the workers with them. Firm and systematic leadership over the trade union fractions is the prerequisite for utilizing the trade unions as one of the weapons for destroying the capitalist system.

10. Without the Communist Parties we cannot create a mass revolutionary trade union movement. The Communist Parties cannot concretely raise the question of power without basing themselves on a mass trade union movement. Therefore, at the present time, the question whether the sections of the R.I.L.U. are really revolutionary and really mass sections assumes exceptionally great importance.

Such are my conclusions. Can we carry out the tasks which we have set? Without a doubt. Once we raise the question of the struggle for Soviet Power seriously, we thereby presuppose that we shall carry out all these tasks. Then what is the matter? Our leading cadres frequently take an attitude of expecting more lengthy prospects than are called for by the objective situation. Therefore they do not sound the alarm regarding the lag behind, frequently acting with the unconscious thought that: "We have plenty of time". They often do not see that the masses and the events are getting ahead of them. They do not ponder the fact to the end that history has entered a period of sharp turns and changes. The revolution may break out

at any moment when the Communist Party is not yet ready, but we also know that the revolution cannot be victorious without a Bolshevik Party. This is why we must set ourselves with tenfold energy to carry out the decisions of the Comintern. The masses are expecting initiative and guidance from us. They know that the Bolsheviks are not rhetoricians but people of revolutionary action.

Of course the difficulties are great, for the enemy is strong, but there are no such difficulties as the Bolsheviks cannot overcome. Communism is invincible. It breaks down all barriers, and sweeps away all obstacles, for the Communist Parties embody all the power, all the energy, all the revolutionary passion of our great class and the future of toiling mankind. Remember the words of Stalin: *"The Communist Party is invincible for it knows where to lead the masses and does not fear difficulties."* Let us not hide the face of the Communist Party, but march with open vizor into the struggle, for Communists do not hide and should not hide their aims.

Let us fight for the tasks set by the Comintern and undoubtedly we shall conquer.

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THE LABOR PARTY, THE I. L. P., AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY

By HARRY POLLITT

THE process of differentiation in the Independent Labor Party which showed itself at the York Conference is of all the greater importance in that it took place in a situation of the rising activity of the working class of England.

In the last months prior to the conference there had already been a significant rise in industrial production, especially in the war industries, resulting in a certain decrease in the unemployment figures.

The National Government has also mobilized all its power to carry through a New Unemployment Insurance Bill, the first of a series of new legislation measures that constitute the greatest danger to the whole working class movement. This Bill has since been followed by the introduction of a new Sedition Bill and both these government acts are part of a single line, *i.e.*, that of strengthening the dictatorial powers of the National Government representing the dominant interests of the capitalist class, through which they hope to attack the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, split the employed and unemployed workers, organize concentration camps and also to develop through the training centers one of the most serious menaces that has yet confronted trade union standards and conditions in Britain. Both these acts are a most important stage in the war preparations of the national government and together constitute a step forward towards fascism in Britain.

But in the working class movement there is a rapidly developing wave of militancy taking place. It was manifest in the Hunger March and National Congress, in the big movement for wage increases that at the present time involves 2,000,000 organized workers in the biggest wage increase movement we have seen since 1924. Throughout the working class movement there is tremendous desire for fighting the National Government and the employers, there is a steady increase in the radicalization of the masses, although reformist illusions are still strong. At the same time there is a growing desire and demand for unity in the class struggle, and resentment against the policy of the reformist leaders of the Labor Party and Trade Union Congress who disorganize the workers' ranks and fight against united action.

Inside the Independent Labor Party itself, for over a year, there has been a big ferment and discussion on questions of policy, of the united front, and relations with the Communist International; the Right wing has been openly fighting for reversal of the present political line of the I.L.P., for a return to the Labor Party and breaking off of the united front with the Communist Party. Abroad, in the last months, we had witnessed the heroic armed struggle of the Austrian workers, defeated and betrayed by the Austro-Marxist leaders, who are the idols of the I.L.P. leaders; the 24-hour general strike against fascism in France; the tremendous growth in the activity and influence of the Communist Parties in Germany and Spain, and primarily the triumph of Socialist construction in the land of the proletarian revolution—the Soviet Union.

This was the background in which the York Conference met.

The dominant group in the I.L.P., represented by the "Left" reformists—Maxton and Brockway, deliberately exerted their influence to prevent a clear discussion and decision being reached on all the basic questions facing the conference. Maxton in his presidential speech declared that he refrained from giving any lead on the outstanding issues before the conference, claiming it was not his duty to give such a lead to the conference. But, whilst pretending not to lead, he actually gave a most important lead, that is, he confused the delegates and in this manner endeavored to win support for the N.A.C. line, that of "Left" reformism.

The confusion and unclarity of all issues on the conference agenda, and in fact in all statements of I.L.P. policy, is not accidental; *it is the policy of the I.L.P.* It is carried through in order that the I.L.P. can retain its chief political role as a barrier between the Communist Party and the Leftward moving workers in the Labor Party.

The most important questions discussed were those of the united front, and relations with the Communist International. It is well-known that the Lancashire and South Wales districts of the I.L.P. had refused to carry out the united front with the Communist Party, and at this conference it was expected that they would make a big fight to get support for this line, and the Right wing had organized every delegate that it was possible for them to get to take part in the York Conference.

Under pressure of the revolutionary members of the I.L.P., the N.A.C. had been forced to insert in their annual report a paragraph relating to the refusal of Lancashire Division of the I.L.P. to carry

out the decisions of the Derby Conference on united front activities with the Communist Party, and when this paragraph came up for discussion, 57 delegates supported the demand of a Liverpool delegate that the paragraph should be referred back to the N.A.C. on the ground that it did not strongly enough condemn the attitude of the Lancashire Division of the I.L.P., led by Sandham. A number of the resolutions in the conference called for a continuation of the united front on the basis of "energetic participation in the day to day struggles of the working class", but the line of the N.A.C. finally carried, a line which glossed over the question.

It is interesting to note how the carrying of this resolution was prepared. An elaborate questionnaire had been circulated to all branches of the I.L.P. in regard to the results of co-operation during the past year with the Communist Party. Many delegates protested against the character of the questionnaire issued by the I.L.P.; as is usual with all I.L.P. documents and policies, it was misleading, confusing and unclear, and those delegates who protested that nobody could understand it were quite right. But on the basis of the replies to the questionnaire the following resolution was put by the N.A.C. to the conference:

> "The National Council of the I.L.P. wishes to further common working class action on all issues, particularly among militant organizations, with a view to building up a united revolutionary socialist movement.
>
> "After surveying the results of co-operation with the Communist Party during the last year, the N.A.C. recommends that the national co-operation of the two parties be based *on specific objects* as agreed upon by the representatives of the two parties from time to time.
>
> "Every section of the movement will be required to carry out such a minimum basis of co-operation.
>
> "The N.A.C. recognizes that the extent of co-operation beyond this minimum must depend upon local circumstances and leaves this to the discretion of the branches."

In moving this resolution Brockway, on behalf of the N.A.C., defined it as meaning that the I.L.P. as a whole would continue co-operation with the Communist Party on such specific objects as the anti-war and anti-fascist movement, German relief work and the Congress campaign but *not day to day activity*, that the whole Independent Labor Party would be expected to carry out this decision but that it would be left depending upon the local circumstances, for the I.L.P. branches to decide whether to extend united front co-operation with the Communist Party further or not. Need it be stated that this assertion means the limitation of the united front, a limitation affecting burning questions of the economic and political day to day struggle against the capitalists and the National Government? Thus, for instance, Brockway, firstly, deliberately limits the scope of the united front with the Communist Party, at the very moment when the whole situation demands the intensification of the process of drawing in the widest masses of workers in the factories, trade unions and labor parties against the capitalist offensive and against the national government. Secondly, that at the National Congress of Action in February, the I.L.P. voted for the Congress Resolution of Action, a resolution which is of such a character, as can only be put into operation by the most systematic daily activity on the part of all who support the Congress, by their work in the factories, trade unions and working class localities.

The delegation of the Communist Party that is to meet the I.L.P. to discuss the confused and ambiguous resolution of the united front that was adopted at York will very sharply bring this fact before the members of the I.L.P.

The next and biggest discussion of the conference took place on the question of the relations of the I.L.P. with the Communist International. It will be recalled that at the Derby Conference of the I.L.P. a year ago, by a vote of 83 to 79, and in the teeth of the opposition of the N.A.C., a resolution was adopted to inquire how the I.L.P. could assist in the work of the Communist International.

Letters have passed between the I.L.P. and the Comintern. But while the Comintern in its letters strives to develop the tendencies making for transfer to the path of revolutionary class struggle and rejection of the old paths of reformist policy which showed themselves among the masses of the I.L.P. members at the Derby Conference, the N.A.C. on the contrary aimed at the very opposite. The objective of the N.A.C., in conducting this correspondence, did not aim to find how they could put the resolution of the Derby Conference into operation, but how they could sabotage it and find the basis for getting a reversal of the policy at the York Conference. There is no need in this article to enter into any details about the controversy which has taken place. It is familiar to all readers of our magazine. The last letter of the I.L.P. to the Comintern contained numberless petty questions, their purpose being only one, namely, by discussing details, to hinder the discussion at the conference of the most important question of principle regarding either a revolutionary or reformist, including "Left" reformist, policy which the I.L.P. must carry out in the future. In reply to this last letter in which the N.A.C. asks that a reply should be sent in time for their York Conference, the Comintern sent the following cable:

"We have nothing to alter in our letters in which we showed fundamental differences in principle between revolutionary proletarian lines and the 'Left' reformist line of the present leadership of the I.L.P. We appeal to the conference to clearly decide which of these two lines the conference accepts and which it rejects. This, and not the organizational and subordinate questions raised by the N.A.C. in their last letter, will decide the question of sympathetic affiliation to the Communist International.

"The members of the National Council are trying to confuse this clear presentation of the main question by continuing the tactics of bombarding the Comintern with an endles series of questions, although all questions of principle in relations between the Comintern and sympathetic Party are clearly answered in our last letter to the I.L.P.

"We do not doubt that the working class members of the I.L.P. will come to a correct decision. But we are very much afraid that even the best decisions which your conference may make in accordance with the desire of your membership for co-operation with the Comintern, could be frustrated under some pretext or other if the new leadership of the I.L.P. were to consist of members supporting the same line as the former leadership.

"It is self-understood that we are prepared to clarify any particular question which seems unclear to members of your Party, or which may give rise to doubts, and by means of joint agreement settle all questions of the relations of the I.L.P. and C.I. to our mutual satisfaction.

"This can be done without difficulty only if our Party makes a firm, clear decision without reservations to affiliate as a sympathizing Party to the C.I. on the basis and line of our last letter, and takes steps to guarantee that this decision will be carried out."

The N.A.C. took the view that the Comintern cable made a clear demand that the I.L.P. should accept sympathetic affiliation and remove from the leadership of the I.L.P. those that were hostile to this policy. The following statement was therefore issued by the N.A.C.:

"The N.A.C. recommends the following statement of policy in regard to the International Association of the I.L.P.

"The objects of the I.L.P. in this respect are:

"(1) To bring about the unification of all genuinely revolutionary sections of the working class in one International; (2) To secure international common action on immediate issues by all sections of the working class. In furtherance of the *first* of these objects, the I.L.P. will continue:

"(a) To oppose the formation of a new International.

"(b) To associate with the independent revolutionary parties with a view to influencing them to work for the establishment of an inclusive revolutionary International. At the same time, despite the attitude of the E.C.C.I., which makes affiliation or sympathetic affiliation impossible under the present circumstances, the I.L.P. is ready to associate with the Communist International in all efforts which, in view of the I.L.P., further the revolutionary struggle of the workers.

"In furtherance of the *second* object the I.L.P. will take every opportunity of approaching the two Internationals and all other sections of the working class to urge united action against fascism, war and capitalist attacks."

To this resolution a series of amendments were put. Briefly, the line of them was as follows: (1) the straight issue that the York Conference "decides immediately to seek affiliation to the C.I. as a sympathetic body under Rule 18 of the Statutes of the C.I." (2) That the York Conference should accept sympathetic affiliation to the C.I. on condition "that the conference receives a definite assurance that the Statutes relating to democratic centralism of the C.I. will be faithfully observed". (3) That the I.L.P. shall "maintain its principles and its independence, to cooperate with the Third International in the struggle against capitalism, imperialism and war, but not to affiliate to it, and to oppose the formation of a new International". There were two other amendments, one which was for the formation of the new International, and another which condemned the formation of the Fourth International.

For some time prior to the Conference a committee working for affiliation to the Comintern had been campaigning for the line of the Comintern being accepted by the York Conference on the question of affiliation. There is also in the I.L.P., as is known, a Revolutionary Policy Committee, but it had not taken too clear a stand on the question, and some of these members had been raising a number of conditions upon which sympathetic application should be accepted, but the position became considerably clearer when in one of the Comintern's letters it was clearly pointed out that the issue facing the York Conference would be of deciding which of the two political lines in the I.L.P. was to be supported, the revolutionary or the "Left" reformist line.

It is instructive to note that in a group meeting that was called to discuss the question of the general policy of the I.L.P., only five delegates were sufficiently interested to turn up. But in a group meeting called to discuss the question of the relations with the Communist International 40 delegates and visitors turned up. The discussion which took place in this group meeting was very good, the support of the delegates for the line of the Comintern was clearly expressed and at the close of the meeting it was decided to issue the following short statement to the conference delegates:

"The National R.P.C. wishes to announce to delegates that at a large meeting held last night it decided (with one dissention) to unite with the

Affiliation Committee in full support of the Dumfries Amendment for immediate sympathetic affiliation to the C.I."

The statement of the N.A.C. was introduced by John MacGovern, M.P., who had been chosen for this because as a result of his participation in the Hunger March, he had achieved a certain popularity in the ranks of the I.L.P. and was therefor the most suitable person to cover up the reformist tactics of the N.A.C. by "Left" phrases. MacGovern in his speech did not attempt to analyze the political content of the Comintern letters or to deal with the fundamental issues that were raised. Instead, by a series of such phrases as "the I.L.P. has been on its belly to Moscow too long", "I am not prepared to take any instructions either from Arthur Henderson or Joseph Stalin", MacGovern continued the policy of Mr. Brockway, a policy of slanderous attacks on the Comintern and the U.S.S.R.

It is perfectly clear that no attempt was made to show that as between the policies of Henderson and Comrade Stalin there is a fundamental difference involving the very life and death of the workers. But this type of demagogy was considered to be the reply to the basic issues that were being raised in the discussion.

A number of delegates then spoke on behalf of sympathetic affiliation to the Comintern, and it should be said at once that in most cases their speeches were excellent, and for the first time one felt coming into the conference the atmosphere of revolutionary fervor and enthusiasm and sincere desire of the revolutionary membership of the I.L.P. to be able to work in the closest manner with the Communist International and to carry out every phase of the work that this involves, that is to say, the development of the fighting united front of struggle, the merciless campaign against reformism and against a "Left" reformist line, and towards a united revolutionary Party in Britain. The discussion was closed by a statement from Brockway, who, as usual, posed as being the perfect gentleman who would not reply "to the attacks that had been made upon him". In his speech he defended the line of the N.A.C., and stated that the only Communist Party of any importance outside the Soviet Union was in Germany, that the seven "Left" parties were all playing a more important role in their respective countries than the Communist Parties, and finally very melodramatically informed the conference that the issue they now had to decide was whether they are going to fight for the Comintern line, which as the last cable showed, meant to clear out the elected leadership of the I.L.P., including such men as Maxton, and "putting in their place the members of the Affiliation Committee whose speeches they had heard that day". This closed the debate and the vote then took place.

When the voting took place on the straight issue of sympathetic affiliation to the C.I. without conditions, 34 votes were given for this and 126 against. We have knowledge of many Branches that were also in support of this policy, but who had been unable to send delegates for financial reasons. For the "sympathetic affiliation to the C.I. but desiring a definite assurance that the Statutes relating to democratic centralism of the C.I. would be faithfully observed", 51 votes for and 98 against. Further votes and further amendments are of no importance and have no political significance.

In considering the discussion on the voting on the various amendments we can say that there were 50 delegates at the York Conference who stood more or less consistently for affiliation as sympathizers. For even those delegates who wanted assurance about democratic centralism did not deny the analysis and made it perfectly plain that they agreed with the analysis of the Comintern regarding the two political lines inside the I.L.P. Naturally if one is to consider this vote in relation to the vote cast at Derby a year ago, then the following can be stated: At Derby there was no clearly defined group working for the line of the Comintern. All sorts of heterogeneous elements were voting for cooperation with the Comintern without a clear understanding of the implications of the questions connected with revolutionary policy.

As a result of the Derby resolution, for a year a discussion has been taking place within the I.L.P., the result being that with the help of the Comintern letters the issues have become more and more clarified, until finally at York a position is reached where 34 delegates voted for the resolution the principle of which was affiliation to the Comintern without any conditions. And 51 delegates were prepared to vote for sympathetic affiliation to the Comintern if some minor questions could be cleared up.

This differentiation represents a step forward and indicates the firm basis for the continuation of revolutionary work inside the I.L.P. It is significant to note that hardly a speech was made at the York Conference but what some reference was made either to the Communist Party or the Communist International! And we will say openly that the results would have been much better had it not been for the bad work of our own Party, the membership of which is not yet fully conscious of the importance of the task of winning the revolutionary members of the I.L.P. for the Communist International and the enormous significance that this would have at home and abroad.

And if full use had been made of the letters of the Comintern in local discussions between local branches of the I.L.P. and Communist Party local, if more use had been made of personal connections between members of the I.L.P. and members of the Communist Party, then a much better result could

have been achieved. For example, in Lancashire, the stronghold of the Right wing of the I.L.P., it was possible to have such discussions with I.L.P. branches and members as resulted in 11 votes being cast from Lancashire for the policy of sympathetic affiliation to the Communist International. But a disquieting thing one has to note is that in Scotland, where we have the best mass contact and influence, hardly any impression was made upon the Scottish delegates, the overwhelming majority of whom stood behind the N.A.C. at the York Conference. In conversations with delegates it became clear, too, that many of our methods of agitation and propaganda amongst the I.L.P. members can be improved, that things which we took for granted have still to be explained to the I.L.P. comrades, that our propaganda is not yet simple enough, that we have not given sufficient explanation to the I.L.P. comrades of how the Communist International works, of the Communist International's policy in regard to trade unions, and the question of democratic centralism. If these shortcomings had been eliminated in the months prior to the I.L.P. Conference, a very different result would have been obtained.

What is the perspective before the I.L.P.? We doubt if even the N.A.C. themselves feel they have achieved a victory. The Right wing which began to consolidate its forces before the York Conference will carry on a still further sharp campaign in favor of returning to the old reformist policy. It was significant to note the silence of Fred Jowett, one of the founders of the I.L.P., during the whole of the discussion at York. The policy of spreading unclarity and confusion is to be continued so that the N.A.C. can try to hold the Party together by appearing to be all things to all of its members, but as the fight for united front activity and for sympathetic affiliation is and will be carried forward by the revolutionary members of the I.L.P., it is inevitable that the next few months will lead to further political differentiation in the ranks of the I.L.P.

After the conference, the Central Committee of the Communist Party issued a statement from which we quote the most important paragraphs:

> "Precisely at this moment, when large numbers of workers, influenced by swiftly moving events at home and abroad, are trying to understand how to fight their way out of the capitalist crisis, the I.L.P. leaders are doing their utmost to spread confusion and doubt. This is the worst crime of 'Left' reformism.
>
> "They play with the phrase 'dictatorship of the proletariat' but deliberately avoid the question of Soviet Power, which is the form of the workers' dictatorship and which can only be achieved by renouncing parliamentarianism and fighting for the overthrow of capitalism.
>
> "They talk about revolution, but pretend it can be brought about by pacifist methods and purely industrial action, thereby preventing the masses from understanding the necessity of preparing working class force to use against the fascist inclined ruling class. They are for the united front, but continually propose limitations on activities and pretend that their united front can be carried on without a relentless fight against the chief sabateurs of united action, the General Council of the T.U.C. and the leaders of the Labor Party.
>
> "They are for 'struggle against the danger of imperialist war', but in reality help the imperialist war preparations by slandering the Soviet Union and attacking its peace policy.
>
> "They are for a 'revolutionary International', but persistently attempt to discredit the Communist International by slandering its policy and caricaturing its discipline.
>
> "The York Conference of the I.L.P. shows the imperative necessity of strengthening the fight against 'Left' reformism in Britain, and for the winning over of the militant workers for the clear line of revolutionary struggle and support for the program of the Communist International.
>
> "*It showed the splendid possibilities before the militant section of the I.L.P., organized around the Affiliation Committee, of continuing their struggle for affiliation to the Communist International and the most effective daily forms of the united front.*"

If the local organizations of the C.P. really carry on a determined campaign to explain the policy of the C.I. to the members of the I.L.P. and to expose Right and "Left" reformism, and if the Affiliation Committee of the I.L.P. itself will now utilize every opportunity for popularizing the Comintern's letters, and especially the cable to the York Conference, and carry on systematic work in preparation for the summer Divisional Conference of the I.L.P., supporting the policy of the Affiliation Committee, that if this work is energetically carried out, if it is followed by the decisions of the I.L.P. sending representative delegates to the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, then within a very short space of time a really tremendous support can be won inside the I.L.P. for the line of the Comintern.

The issue is now clear beyond all doubt, it is the fight within the I.L.P. of either back to reformism or forward towards revolution. There is now a firmly established group of revolutionary members of the I.L.P. who are for the line of revolution. If they will now boldly place this position before all members of the I.L.P. and organs of the I.L.P. they will receive an increasing support, and if the Communist Party will also understand the importance of the problem, and will see that in every phase of united front activity, the most sincere and comradely attempts are made to get the maximum results out of the united front that is carried out between the Party

and the I.L.P. at the center and in the Districts, then the work begun at York can be carried forward much more effectively, existing doubts will be cleared away, the differentiation between revolutionaries and reformists will be increased, and the revolutionary members themselves will soon begin to feel so strong that they will be able to put forward the demand for a special conference of the I.L.P. to again discuss the question of its international associations and policy, because bound up with this question is every phase of current policy in the struggle against capitalism and reformism in Britain, and the building up of the revolutionary forces that can go forward to the winning of Soviet Power in Britain.

THE LATEST FASCIST MOVE OF THE BRITISH NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

By D.

THE movement towards fascism in Great Britain continues to develop in its own way.

Ministers of the National Government continue their orations regarding British "democracy", while steps are taken to rob the masses of what still remains of "democratic liberty" in the conditions of capitalist Britain in decline. Not content with the centuries-old law of King Edward III under which fighters like Tom Mann have been arrested and sent to jail on the grounds that they *may* commit a crime if left at liberty—not content with the more than hundred-year-old Incitement to Mutiny Act under which individuals may receive a maximum penalty of penal servitude for life for attempting to undermine the allegiance of the soldiers of the King—not content with the "more than 68 acts of Parliament under which the Englishman's castle can be invaded"—the National Government has decided to introduce a new law, the "Incitement to Disaffection" law.

What, then, does this new bill propose?

The Bill takes as its starting point that "if any person endeavors to seduce any member of His Majesty's forces from his duty or allegiance to His Majesty he shall be guilty of an offense under this Act", and on this basis the following regulations are to be established: Firstly, that even *possession of any document* which might give rise to disaffection if circulated in the Army is an offense. Secondly, that if anybody "does or attempts to do, or causes to be done or attempted, any act preparatory" to committing an offense under the Act, he shall be guilty.

Thirdly, if a magistrate has "reasonable ground for suspecting that an offense may be committed under the Act" he may issue a search warrant entitling the police to enter any suspected place "at any time, and if necessary by force", to search the premises and any and every person found there, if there are "reasonable grounds for suspecting" that evidence will be found proving that an offense under the Act is likely to be committed.

The Bill then proceeds to indicate that anybody found guilty under the Act may be immediately sentenced to three months' imprisonment (amended after the House of Commons' discussion to four months to satisfy those who "were afraid that citizens would be deprived of the right to trial by jury"), the maximum being two years' imprisonment or £200 fine, or both, but this must be on indictment.

Finally, any document seized may be destroyed or otherwise dealt with, as the court thinks fit.

What does the Attorney General use to justify this new Bill? In his speech in the House of Commons on April 16, he stated, "The *Soldiers' Voice* was a leaflet claiming to be the organ of the Communist soldier. The corresponding leaflet for the navy, claiming to be the organ of the Communist sailor, was the *Red Signal*. The *Soldier's Voice* of October, 1931, invited its readers who were soldiers to understand that 'the way to victory lies not through voting but through mass struggle. What is needed is a repetition of the united strike!' The issue of May, 1932, contained this passage: 'Let us use the knowledge of arms which they give us when the opportunity presents itself to overthrow their rule and, in unity with our fellow workers, to establish the Free Socialist Britain'. . . . In November, 1932, the same publication said: 'We suggest to you, comrade reader, that you should make a beginning now in your unity. Get in touch with that other fellow in your lot who thinks like you. Then start to convert the rest of your mates to your ideas. If you do not know where to begin, what about writing for advice to that Communist or member of the unemployed movement you used to know at home?' The *Red Signal* of October, 1932, said: 'They will put a gun in your hands. Take it and study the art of war. Its knowledge is essential for workers in order to

fight against the capitalists of their own country in order to put an end to capitalism.' In May, 1933, it said: 'If war comes, then it must be turned into civil war against the capitalist war-mongers and their bankrupt system. We urge on our comrades of the lower deck to get in touch with this great movement wherever possible.' In 1932 there were 17 perversive pamphlets, of which the *Soldiers' Voice* was one, and the *Red Signal* another, containing such incitements, and there were 20 different places of distribution. In 1933 there were 11 different pamphlets and 14 places of distribution. It was estimated that in each of the last two years something like 50,000 of these perversive pamphlets had been produced to be distributed for circulation among members of His Majesty's forces" (London *Times,* April 17).

The worthy minister is disturbed by these anti-militarist efforts. The memory of *Invergordon** still lingers, while the feverish war preparations of the National Government require still further repression of all "dangerous thoughts" that may penetrate among the forces so largely recruited from the unemployed. But it is clear that this Bill which follows on the heels of the New Unemployment Bill, has a far deeper purpose than that of intensifying the struggle against anti-militarist propaganda, for it makes the mere possession of any document that "could give rise to disaffection if circulated in the Army" an offense. Under this category there is hardly a single piece of revolutionary working class literature that could not be made the basis of a prosecution. But what is more, unlimited powers are given for searching any premises if there are "reasonable grounds for suspecting that an offense may be committed". It is not difficult to see that this law can very easily be used to drive the Communist Party into factual illegality and to institute a reign of terror against all those who are engaged in a revolutionary struggle against capitalism.

It is worthy of note that even the liberal bourgeois *Manchester Guardian,* after examining the Bill, ended up by declaring that it "must be vigorously resisted", but the "vigorous resistance" of the liberal bourgeoisie was expressed by the liberal spokesmen in the House of Commons debate, when, for instance, Isaac Foot declared that "no one could justify these attempts to disturb the allegiance and loyalty of those serving in the forces . . . [but] . . . it was an unnecessary advertisement to the world of any small difficulties that might exist. . . ."

Major Lloyd George (son of his well-known father) stated still more clearly that "we have sufficient Acts of Parliament to handle the situation, and we have handled it successfully in the past".

For the liberals it is clearly, therefore, a question of disagreement with the National Government as to the best tactics to be adopted in the existing circumstances against the revolutionary movement and particularly against revolutionary work in the army.

As to the Labor Party, in regard to this fascist blow directed against the British working class, it is already proving itself a worthy brother of the German, Austrian, and other Social-Democratic Parties. The main line of "attack" by the Labor leaders is, for instance, that "there is not the slightest evidence that it [the Bill] is needed". The *Daily Herald,* the Labor Party's official organ, disarms the working class still further in a leading article entitled "A Bad Bill" by declaring that "Public opinion will demand from the Government precise and specific cause to an extension of Executive powers so wide as this Bill seeks to take". And if the National Government gives such "precise and specific causes"?!!

It should be added that on the day when the Bill was printed the *Daily Herald* loudly declared that the Bill was directed "against Communists and fascists". But the Labor leaders are under no illusions. "The Bill," declared Col. Wedgewood in an interview, "would be misused and would certainly only be used against the Communists".

And indeed, in the House of Commons debate, the Labor spokesman (Mr. Lawson), in "opposing" the Bill, declared (see *Times,* April 17) that he did not think there was any section of the House that had any objection to the operation of Clause 1 of the Bill (*i.e.,* the clause which declares it to be "an offense to endeavor to seduce any member of His Majesty's forces from his duty or allegiance to His Majesty"). Having made this open declaration of solidarity in principle with the National Government, this social-fascist and the rest who followed were concerned with showing that "the Attorney General had given no evidence whatever as to the effect of these publications on the soldiers and sailors" . . . etc.

Sixty-three Labor and Liberal M.P.s voted against this Bill (MacDonald, Thomas, Simon, Runciman, etc., did not vote!)—but it is clear that the difference between the "opposition" and His Majesty's Government is not one of principle.

The Labor Party is quite as much concerned as the National Government is that His Majesty's army shall be "efficient" (to do the will of the imperialist war makers). This has been shown by the recent discussions in Parliament, as for instance, on March 21, in the Labor Party's proposal "to obtain better results under a combined Ministry of Defense".

Similarly, in spite of the fact that Labor M.P.s

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* The sailors of the British Grand Fleet mutinied on Sept. 15, 1931, refusing to take the ships out of the harbor of Invergordon, Scotland; the revolt arose in protest against announced pay-cuts. As a result of the mutiny, the British Government was forced to withdraw the pay reductions.

voted with the I.L.P. M.P.s in favor of a clause "exempting troops from the obligations to take duty in trade disputes", they dared not reply to the challenge of Duff-Cooper, the Financial Secretary of the War Office, that "The Labor Government when in office refused this amendment" (a fact on which the I.L.P. M.P.s also kept silent). The Labor Party's "opposition" to the new Bill, therefore, is merely one of expediency—so that this point must be borne in mind in carrying on the fight against the Bill and against the increasing fascization of the State apparatus. It is clear that what will have to be developed if this Bill is to be smashed are united front mass actions under the leadership of the Communist Party. The mass feeling against fascism which exists needs to be harnessed and given organized expression, but in such a way as to embrace the widest masses in a unified anti-fascist movement covering the various organizations now carrying on various forms of anti-fascist activity. Particularly, the masses under the influence of the reformists have to be made aware of the fascist threat which menaces their organizations (making it clear that fascist developments in Great Britain are by no means limited to the development of Mosley's Black Shirt movement) and a determined blow must be aimed against the sham "opposition" of the reformists who are directing the masses away from mass action towards faith in a "third Labor Government".

The results of the recent Hunger March and Congress of Action have shown the masses what can be achieved by mass action—in this respect, then, a special drive must be made inside the reformist unions and the factories and among the unemployed, and steps taken to link up the fight against this Bill with the increasing number of economic struggles in which the workers are now being involved and with the struggle of the employed and unemployed against the new Unemployment Bill, endeavoring all the time to raise the movement to the level of strike action to defeat the attempt to rivet the chains of open fascist slavery on the British proletariat.

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SOME EXPERIENCES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA IN ORGANIZING AND LEADING STRIKE STRUGGLES

By LI MING

THE TURN TO THE SHOPS

THE strike movement in China has grown and become more accentuated over the past two years, and the leading role of the Communist Party has grown with it. Many of the big strikes, as, for instance, the general strike of the printers in Shanghai, the two general strikes of tobacco workers in the Anglo-American tobacco factories in the same city, and the struggle of the textile workers, etc., were carried out under the leadership of the Communist Party of China. In North China, during the period from January to June, 1933, the Party and the Red trade unions participated in the conduct of 27 strikes and struggles of the industrial workers, and led 17 struggles absolutely independently. Eighteen of these 27 militant actions ended in partial or complete victory of the workers. On three occasions the Party directed street demonstrations and clashes of the strikers with the Kuomintang police. Heavy losses were sustained by the Kuomintang and yellow trade unions in these struggles as a result of this activity. These struggles gave clear proof that success in preparing strikes and in carrying them out is inseparably connected with the livening up of Party activity in the enterprises, with the activity of Communists in the mills and factories and with the utilization of all kinds of economic conflicts between the workers and the employers. A report on trade union activity in Hupeh, for instance, reads as follows:

> "At the time when wage cuts, shortening of working time, dismissal of workers and so forth, gave rise to discontent among the textile factories, we had no connections with the workers. But due to the fact that we turned our attention to the enterprises, and concentrated our forces there, carrying on painstaking work, establishing contacts with the workers, and using all opportunities without overlooking the smallest trifles for solving everyday partial conflicts, we succeeded in creating trade union groups in the enterprises. We correctly conducted the tactics of the united front from below, and after isolating the leaders of the yellow trade unions and reactionary groupings, brought forward and trained cadres from the working masses, and knew how to utilize legal possibilities. Finally, we checked our work carefully and in good time, and rectified our mistakes, and so forth. The result was that within a few months we organized successful strikes at the Boy-Yang factory, directed the general strike at the Yu-Yuang textile factory, and took part in the struggle of two thousand workers at the Ho-Yuang mill. As a result of these activities we set up trade union groups at these factories, and delegate conferences of the workers of six textile mills, and founded a mass basis for the textile trade union in Tientsin.
>
> "In the mines in Hupeh province we had 30 members of the Party, over 40 members of the Red trade unions and over 500 members of an auxiliary organization, working under our guidance. The living conditions of the workers there are also very difficult, and militant tendencies are developing among them. But, due to the fact that we were unable to set our activity going inside the mines, and confined ourselves to mere palaver outside the mines, neglecting the development of the struggle from day to day, we failed to organize and carry out a strike there. This does not imply, however, that the miners are more backward than the textile workers; all it proves is that our comrades who are at work there, did not know how to carry out proper tactics and work."

Furthermore, these struggles emphasized once again the importance of correct slogans and demands, the importance of a correct interconnection between the political and economic, general and local requirements.

For instance, the local comrades on the Peiping-Suiyuan railway, who only took the political situation into account, launched the slogans: "Down with the special party organizations of the Kuomintang" and "Down with the yellow trade unions", but forgot to put forward the economic demands of the workers and to connect them with political demands. The provincial committee of the Party in Hupeh soon rectified these mistakes by setting forth such economic demands of the workers as: "Payment of benefits amounting to half a month's salary", "establishment of a weekly rest day", and so forth. Broad masses of workers rapidly and determinedly entered the struggle for these demands and even introduced a free day each week by taking the law into their own hands. The revolutionary activity of the workers rose to a great height in the process of this movement, and they developed their struggle not only for the satisfaction of economic requirements, but also for their political needs.

The workers left the yellow trade unions, drove away the "special Party organizations" of the Kuomintang, and set up a genuine workers' class trade union organization, while the yellow trade unions lost their positions. In this connection they no longer confined themselves to the demand for the payment of two weeks' benefits and the establishment of a rest day. The workers also insisted on the restoration of the collective agreements concluded in 1926 after the victorious strike, but cancelled by the capitalists, and on a raise in wages. But while the revolutionary consciousness and activity of the workers rose to a higher level, our comrades continued automatically to adhere to their former demands. The provincial committee of the Communist Party, however, once again rectified the mistakes of the local Communists in good time and launched extensive slogans. Thanks to this, a wave of militancy rapidly rose again, not only in the railway depots of Kalgan but everywhere along this line. The railwaymen sent their representatives to Kalgan from all points to establish connections with the newly organized class trade union. The Communist Party took stock of these circumstances, and succeeded in carrying out a delegate conference of railwaymen on the Peiping-Suiyuan line for the purpose of extending the anti-militarist movement, and in organizing anti-Japanese volunteer detachments and mobilizing many workers to proceed to the front to carry out anti-militarist work among the soldiers.

The experience of the economic strikes has shown further, that the economic struggle must also be linked up with the anti-imperialist struggle in the interest of developing both, the strike and the anti-imperialist movements. The extension of the economic struggle creates a mass basis for the anti-imperialist struggle as well. At the same time the development of the anti-imperialist movement arouses even backward workers, generalizes and extends the movement, and raises it to a higher level. The seizure of Manchuria by Japanese imperialism called forth a new upsurge of the anti-imperialist movement among the Shanghai workers. The Party then succeeded in supporting the movement of the textile workers at the Japanese mills against withdrawal of rewards to link up the demands of the workers with slogans of struggle against the seizure of Manchuria, and with demonstrations against the Kuomintang government which capitulated to Japanese imperialism. All this contributed considerably to draw the textile workers into a tremendous anti-imperialist movement and strike struggle, a strike which extended and embraced 40,000 workers and lasted over 100 days. Not only did the workers take part in it, but also their families, children, old folks, etc., took active part in very fierce struggle against the Kuomintang police. The strike and the whole of this movement assisted the heroic defense of Shanghai.

> "In such cases the proletariat plays the role not merely of one of the classes of bourgeois society, but the role of a hegemone, *i.e.*, the role of guide, vanguard, and leader" (*Lenin*, Collected Works, Russian Edition, Vol. 15, p. 519).

THE ROLE OF THE STRIKE COMMITTEE IN THE STRIKES

In these strikes the Party strove to organize strike committees which would ensure the revolutionary leadership of the struggle, and be elected by the workers themselves on whom they would rely. In this respect the strikes of the tobacco workers at the Anglo-American factories in Shanghai may serve as a positive example. In April, 1933, an Anglo-American firm decided to cut down working time at one of its factories by introducing a five-day working week and later a three-day week. The Communist nucleus at this factory mobilized the trade union organizations and called mass meetings, at which it launched slogans calling for the three-day and five-day working week to be abolished. At these meetings the election took place of a strike committee (80 members), which included all the delegates and active workers from different shops. Seeing that the capitalists refused to satisfy the demands of the workers, all the workers at once declared a general strike under the leadership of the strike committee. The employers called in big police detachments but, after bloody conflicts, the workers drove the police away from the factory. The next day the strike committee called a mass meeting at the gates of the factory, which was guarded by the police. As a result of the second clash with the police the workers seized the factory.

The strike committee decided to call on the other two factories belonging to the same firm to strike in solidarity. For this purpose a demonstration was organized, and those who took part in it reached the gates of these two factories after driving off the police detachments which attacked them on their way there. They called a mass meeting at the gates to agitate the workers of these factories to jointly participate in the struggle. Although the leaders of the yellow trade unions at these two factories used all possible means to deceive the workers and to prevent their participation in the strike, the mass of the workers responded to the call of the strike committee. At this mass meeting representatives from these two factories were additionally elected to the strike committee, and the number of members of the committee was increased thereby to 160. Despite all the maneuvers of the Kuomintang, the capitalists and the leaders of the yellow trade unions, despite the police terror, this strike which was carried on under the leadership of the revolutionary strike committee, and which relied on the masses, ended in a victory for the workers.

AN EXAMPLE OF WORK IN THE YELLOW TRADE UNIONS—THE STRIKE OF THE PRINTERS IN SHANGHAI

The main condition for the successful organization and leadership of the strike struggle is that the tactics of the united front from below and the constant exposure of the demagogy and treachery of the leaders of the Kuomintang and yellow trade unions are correctly carried out.

In this respect the *tactics of the Communists in the organization of the printers' strike in Shanghai,* may be taken as an example. In the spring of last year the owners of the printing plants in Shanghai began an offensive against the workers, having previously come to an agreement with the leaders of the yellow trade unions regarding an increase in work to be fulfilled, and about the violation of the collective agreement in one of the printing plants. The workers declared a strike, demanding that the collective agreement be fulfilled. The owners immediately dismissed all the strikers and replaced them by new workers. At the time the revolutionary organizations among the printers were very weak, but when the leaders of the yellow trade unions made an attempt to force the workers to accept the terms imposed by the capitalists, the revolutionary organizations put forth the slogans: "Not a single worker to be dismissed", "All the terms of the collective agreement to be fulfilled", "The strike to be continued to a victorious conclusion". These slogans were accepted by the mass of the workers, who, under the leadership of the revolutionary organizations, set up a committee of struggle. At the same time propaganda was carried on, calling on all the workers of all the newspaper printing plants to take part in the strike. It was shown that only by means of a general strike of printers would the employers be compelled to satisfy the demands of the workers, and that should the strike of the workers in the one printing plant suffer defeat, the employers would undoubtedly attack the workers of all the other plants. This propaganda was rapidly disseminated among the broadest masses of printers. Then the yellow leaders, having thus suffered defeat, plunged into outright provocation. They put forward the suggestion that the workers seize the printing plants while at the same time they came to an arrangement with the employers, that the latter should call in the police while the plants were being seized so that all the active workers, and particularly the revolutionary workers, should be arrested. Our comrades noticed these intrigues behind the scenes and immediately discussed the situation with the workers. It was decided to launch two slogans: "Workers of all printing plants should jointly participate in the seizure of the printing plants". "Members of the executive committee of the trade union must take part in the seizure of the enterprises". The following day the dismissed workers as well as the workers of all other printing plants gathered in good time at a place appointed. The yellow leaders of the trade unions failed to appear and disappeared altogether. Our comrades saw that a police detachment was already stationed not far away, and therefore they changed their tactics with great flexibility. They did not lead the workers to seize the printing plant, but organized a mass meeting at which they discussed the betrayal of the yellow leaders who deserted.

The mass of the workers started for the premises of the trade union, but all the leaders had fled and the workers found documents which testified to the connections of these leaders with the capitalists and to the way they extorted the membership dues. Nevertheless, the leaders were found in their hiding places and forced to come to the meeting where they received their deserts. However, they did not lose their audacity altogether and managed to shift the blame diplomatically to one of the leaders. For the time being, the meeting decided to expel this culprit alone, but at the same time it was decided to call mass meetings in the printing plants for the purpose of discussing the question of a general strike.

On the following day the leaders of the yellow trade unions spoke very cunningly against the general strike at a meeting in one of the printing plants. They proved demagogically that the capitalists had everything ready for the suppression of the strike and, that, should a general strike be declared, the capitalists would dismiss all the workers and replace them by new ones. At the same time, they said, all the trade unions would be dispersed, and therefore anybody who insisted upon the general strike was an agent-provocateur, an agent of the capitalists. Some of the active workers fell into the trap and were afraid to speak against the trade union leaders. For this reason the proposal to declare a general strike was not accepted at this meeting. Upon receipt of this information, our comrades immediately proceeded to discuss with the active workers the question of exposing the intrigues of the yellow leaders. The following day at a meeting in another printing plant, when the yellow leaders came out with the same kind of provocatory speech, the active workers whom we had put on their guard rejected the line put forward by the T.U. leaders, the result being that the proposal to declare a general strike was accepted unanimously. Revolutionary influence in this movement grew to such an extent that when the yellow leaders declared a general strike as a maneuver and with a view to preserving their leadership over the strike movement, the workers understood this treacherous move and barred them from the strike committees. The strike was carried out entirely under the leadership of the Communist Party and the revolutionary

trade union organizations and ended in complete victory.

This example proves the extent to which the yellow trade unions are capable of maneuvering, and how thoroughly we must expose the machinations and intrigues of their leaders, and that in order to defeat them we must lead strikes independently, and thus bring them to victory. The experience gained in this struggle proved that:

1. Our comrades correctly adhered to the tactics of the united front from below and advanced the demands supported by the broadest masses, in order to mobilize the latter for joint struggle;

2. Our comrades correctly used the tactics of exposing step by step the deceit, machinations and provocation of the yellow trade union leaders;

3. They succeeded in launching such popular mass slogans as "Down with the policy of non-resistance", so as to rouse the masses to struggle against the yellow leaders;

4. Our comrades knew how to make use of the meetings and even of the press of the yellow trade unions for the purpose of conducting our propaganda. In this way we secured the leadership of the strike and realized the tactics of the independent conduct of the struggle; and finally,

5. As a result of this struggle we secured elective posts in the lower mass organizations of the yellow trade union (not only the strike committees, but also posts in the executive committee of the trade union, and in the factory committee in one of the printing plants).

This experience has been very valuable and serves as an example for further work inside the yellow trade unions.

But we have unfortunately failed to popularize this valuable experience on a wide scale and to use it in other places. Many examples could be quoted of mistakes committed and wrong tactics applied in regard to activity carried on inside the yellow trade unions, such as the "Leftist" deviation, expressed in chatter about "down with the yellow trade unions", "Leftist" phraseology to the effect that we have completely exposed the maneuvers of the yellow trade unions once and for all and that their influence has completely collapsed, whereas in reality, although the influence of the yellow trade unions has really declined, nevertheless the broad masses of the workers still continue to remain in their ranks. There is, on the other hand, the Right deviation consisting of the transformation of the united front from below into negotiations and diplomatic relations with the officials at the top, which in effect represents capitulation to the leaders of the trade unions. A struggle must be developed on two fronts against these deviations, and the positive examples of our activity popularized.

THE ROLE OF FACTORY NUCLEI IN STRIKES IN SHANGHAI

The most important lesson to be derived from the strike struggles in China is the fact that they have proven the necessity of creating active Communist nuclei in the factories.

Only a nucleus which is capable of working independently, of waging everyday agitational and organizational work among the workers, and which reacts to the moods and requirements of the working masses can make use of all the opportunities for attracting the mass of the factory workers into the economic and political struggle.

In the everyday conduct of its policy, tactics and slogans in the enterprises the Communist Party must have efficient nuclei as a foundation. A strike at a Shanghai flour mill may serve as one of the best examples in this regard. In the summer of last year the workers there found themselves in a very difficult position due to repeated wage-cuts. The Party nucleus bore in mind the moods of the masses. At a meeting of the nucleus it was first decided to conduct agitation, and on the following day to call a mass meeting at the gates of the flour mill. The organizational side of the conduct of the meeting was thoroughly discussed and work distributed between the members of the nucleus. The mass meeting took place the following day and the workers decided to demand a two-dollar wage increase. The militant mood of the workers rose considerably and the workers declared a strike on the spot and decided to send their delegates to negotiate with the management. Our comrades pointed out the following: "If we are to force the capitalists to satisfy our demands, it is better that all the workers should go there together and present their demands". In response to this call all the workers went with our comrades to the office, surrounded it and presented their demands. The manager categorically refused to consider them and called in the police, and thereupon the workers locked the gates of the flour mill, barricaded them from the inside, and gathered stones, iron bolts, etc. A half an hour later a big police detachment came on the scene and tried several times to make their way into the factory, but they were beaten back by the workers. Then the police surrounded the mill from the outside, but the result was that in the morning the management was forced to agree to the demands of the workers, and sent the police away.

In the case we have quoted the nucleus showed that it was in close contact with the working masses and that it was able to lead a struggle. But it is impossible to train such nuclei, such cadres in one day—they must be tempered in the process of uninterrupted struggle, in the process of continuous work. The leading Party organizations must improve their leader-

ship over the activity of the nuclei, their representatives must take part in the meetings of the nuclei, and with them discuss all the questions connected with their activity, and should at the same time check their work with them, rectify their mistakes and help them in their work.

Finally, it must be noted that there are many weak spots and shortcomings in different spheres of our Party activity. Weak spots are to be noted in conspiratorial work and struggle against agents-provocateur. The Communist Party of China has had organizations which grew up in the process of the struggle but which collapsed or lost contact with the masses due to poor conspiratorial methods of work. This is one of the most important questions in the activity of the Communist Party of China and of the revolutionary trade union movement. But under the leadership of its Bolshevik Central Committee, the Chinese Party organizations will know how to make use of the positive experiences of the Party in this connection and will overcome individual mistakes and weaknesses.

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THE BLACK SEA REVOLT*

By ANDRE MARTY

"Our basic international existence in the chain of the capitalist States has been won. Internal conditions have not allowed a single strong capitalist State to make an attack on Russia. This proves that the revolution has matured within these countries, and that it does not allow them to conquer us with that speed with which they might have been able to. The English, French and Japanese armies have been on Russian territory for three years. *There is no doubt that the most insignificant exertion of the forces of these three powers would have been sufficient for them to attain victory over us in a few months, if not in a few weeks. If we have been successful in holding back this attack, it is only due to the disintegration of the French troops and the beginning of ferment among the English and Japanese.*" (*Lenin*, Collected Works, Vol. 25, p. 485. My emphasis.—A.M.)

THIS is the way Lenin noted the significance of the Black Sea revolt, at the Moscow Regional Party Conference on Nov. 20, 1920. Let us recall the facts.

As soon as the Turkish-Bulgarian front fell to pieces in 1918, with the military defeat of the imperialist Central European bloc and the victory of the imperialist Entente (France, England, Italy and Japan) becoming certain, the latter decided to "*put an end to Bolshevism*", as Pichon, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, expressed it. One base for this was aleady set up in Archangel, in the extreme north. The Japanese troops were advancing in Siberia, and the French general, Jeanine, was in command there over the Allied military forces including the White Guards. The Kuban and the Don were in the hands of Denikin, and then the eastern army, which was making for Belgrade, Budapest and Vienna, changed its direction and marched towards the Ukraine, supported by the fleet in occupation in the Black Sea.

The Soviet Republics were closely surrounded as by barbed wire entanglements. The French troops arrived in the Ukraine and Crimea in an atmosphere of a wild campaign of lies and slanders. But the Bolshevik Party was not asleep. Under its leadership a tremendous amount of work was carried on among the French forces, soldiers and sailors, with a view to convincing and awakening their consciousness.

And indeed, there is no greater mistake than the legend spread about for years, to the effect that the revolt on the Black Sea was an idyllic fraternization between the Russian workers and the French soldiers. The unity which was to undermine and smash the intervention was accomplished as a result of a fierce struggle between the Russian proletariat and the French bourgeoisie. The proletariat wanted to win the army over to its side, while the bourgeoisie used all its efforts in order to preserve its hold on the army. It was precisely the tireless work of the Bolsheviks and of the proletariat of the occupied cities that roused the class consciousness of the French soldiers and sailors. The unrest among these troops who were participating in intervention against the Russian revolution was concrete proof of this awakening. The awakening of their class consciousness also drove them onto the revolutionary path with such force that the Government was at first compelled to send them back to their home country, and then to demobilize them immediately out of fear that the insurgents would spread the spirit of revolt in France itself.

In order to carry on this sanguinary, difficult and dangerous work among the troops of the interventionists, people were required who were energetic, accustomed to underground work, and tested in class struggles; in other words, people of unshakable courage and unusual endurance. For this kind of work people were needed who were members of a strong and tested Party, a party tempered in civil war. It required very fine strategy and daring tactics on the part of people armed with the compass of Marxist-Leninist theory. In a word, it needed Bolsheviks.

It was only due to the members of this steel Party that the Russian proletariat was able, from month to month, to gradually win over the army, and tear it away from the bourgeoisie. Fraternization began with the refusal of the soldiers to undertake an offensive (58th and 176th Infantry Regiments, 19th Artillery Regiment, etc.). This was the first period (February-March).

At the end of this period, on April 6, one of the companies of the 7th Sapper Regiment, at the very height of the mutiny, tried to undertake revolutionary action, in this way starting the second period (April-June).

The sailors by now did not limit themselves to simply refusing to assume the offensive. Open revolts took place (on the "France", "Jean-Bart", "Justice", "Quichen" and others). And many cases were to be observed of wavering between revolt and pas-

*Reprinted from *Cahiers du Bolshevisme*, No. 8, April 15, 1934.

sage to revolution (the "Waldeck-Rousseau"), and once even an attempt at revolution.

Finally, during the third period (June-August), not only revolts took place, but also attempts at uprising, such as action directed towards opening the prisons (Toulouse, Brest and Toulon), and attempts to connect the movement among the sailors with that going on among the soldiers and wokers (Toulon).

This tremendous movement which was supported and drew its strength from the big strikes and revolutionary demonstrations in France itself, compelled the *French imperialists to weaken their attack on the October Revolution.*

In order to continue its role as international gendarme, French imperialism had to resort to mercenaries, to Denikin and Wrangel, to troops which were in all respects on a lower level than the French army, which at the end of 1918 reached its apogee of powerful technical armament. It had to utilize White Guard troops, which it was a comparatively easy matter for the Red Army to smash up. In this way the uprising of the French soldiers and sailors assisted enormously in achieving the military victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. A splendid result!

We were, however, able to strike a still stronger blow against French imperialism.

Actually, the uprisings of the French soldiers and sailors in the Ukraine, on the Black Sea, and in France may be characterized in two ways.

On the one hand, the movement lacked a clear ideology and revolutionary theory.

In almost all of the mutinies we meet with the same confusion, the same conglomeration of revolutionary phrases, pacifism and chauvinism, enthusiasm for the Russian revolution, and legalism which at that time were widespread among the majority of the French proletariat and which filled the pages of *La Vague* (a terribly muddle-headed paper, which passed as a Bolshevik production).

On the other hand, there was no serious organization in existence.

This complete absence of illegal organization in the army and the fleet enabled the Headquarters Staff to master this formidable movement rather easily. And yet there was a serious urge toward organization on all the ships, which manifested itself spontaneously in the creation of underground sailors' revolutionary committees.

At any rate, it would have been extraordinarily easy to create one or more illegal nuclei in every army unit and on every ship in the fleet. Due to the existence of the large number of reservists, it would have been possible to create legal groups of soldiers and sailors everywhere, having concrete aims (sports, music, study groups, etc.). It would have been extraordinarily easy for the Communist nuclei to influence these groups and make mass revolutionary organizations out of them, embracing entire military units or entire crews. But for this, what was needed was that there should be in existence a Bolshevik Party in France.

The consequences resulting from the absence of such a Communist Party, which would have led and organized the struggle, become still more obvious when we acquaint ourselves with the attitude and the role of the delegates. Full of daring, springing voluntarily from the masses, they did not hesitate to present the demands of the sailors directly to the commanders—they did not hesitate to break the terrible military war-time discipline.

For example, Vuillemin, a young 19-year-old mechanic—who withstood the attacks of an entire staff full of cunning, and who foresaw all their maneuvers including, by the way, the trap of April 20—is without question one of the finest figures of the Black Sea revolt. But the sailors' delegates were not Bolsheviks. Faced with the enormous responsibility which rested upon them, almost all of them slipped down to the path of reformism. That is why, in the majority of cases, the masses quickly moved ahead of them, and from that moment, they began to be a brake on the movement.

Sometimes their attitude even became counter-revolutionary, as for instance when the crew of the "Waldeck-Rousseau," who were afire with revolutionary enthusiasm, recalled their 20 delegates less than 24 hours after they had elected them, and elected four new delegates.

In this way the mutinies in the Black Sea show much in common with the mutinies of the sailors and soldiers in Russia in 1905. Just as at that time, "the wide masses of sailors and soldiers easily started to revolt, but with the same ease committed the naive stupidity of liberating the officers under arrest, and allowed themselves to be calmed by the promises and persuasions of the authorities, who thus gained precious time, received reinforcements, and split up the forces of the insurgents, after which there followed the most fierce suppression and slaughter of the leaders". (*Lenin,* Collected Works, vol. 19, p. 351.)

This is why we must apply the same lessons to the Black Sea uprising as Lenin drew from the Moscow uprising of 1905, when he said:

> "The other lesson refers to the character of the uprising, the methods by which it is carried out and the conditions under which the troops come over to the side of the people. In the Right Wing of our Party an extremely one-sided view prevails on this matter. It is alleged that it is impossible to fight modern troops, that the troops must first become revolutionary. Of course, unless the revolution assumes a mass character and affects also the troops, serious fighting is out of the question. Work among the troops is of course necessary. But

we must not imagine that the troops will come over to our side at one stroke, as it were, as the result of persuasion or their own conviction. The Moscow uprising clearly demonstrated how stereotyped and lifeless is this view. As a matter of fact, the wavering of the troops, which is inevitable in every really popular movement, leads to a real fight for the troops whenever the revolutionary struggle becomes more acute.* (My emphasis.—A.M.)

Finally, as they did in 1905, those who mutinied on the Black Sea did not know anything about the art of insurrection.

"December confirmed another profound postulate of Marx, which the opportunists have forgotten, namely, that rebellion is an art, and that the principal rule of this art is a desperately bold and irrevocably determined *offensive*. We have not sufficiently assimilated this truth. We have not sufficiently learned, nor have we taught the masses this art and this rule to attack at all costs. We must make up for this with all our energy. It is not enough to rally round political slogans, we must also rally round the question of an armed uprising. Whoever is against it, whoever is not preparing himself for it—must be ruthlessly cast out of the ranks of the supporters of the revolution, and sent back to the ranks of its enemies, of the traitors or cowards, for the day is approaching when the force of events and the conditions of the struggle will compel us to divide enemies and friends according to that principle. We must not preach passivity, nor advocate 'waiting' until the troops 'come over'. No! We must proclaim from the housetops the necessity of a bold offensive and armed attack, the necessity of exterminating at such times the persons in command of the enemy and of a most energetic fight for the wavering troops." **

* * *

At the Seventeenth Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Stalin recalled the threat of an imperialist war against the U.S.S.R. and emphasized that

"One such war against the U.S.S.R. has been waged already, if you remember, 15 years ago. As is well known, the universally esteemed Churchill clothed this war in a poetic formula—'the invasion of 14 States'. You remember, of course, that this war rallied the toilers of our country in a single camp of heroic warriors who defended their workers' and peasants' homeland against the foreign foe tooth and nail. You know how it ended. It ended with the invaders being driven from our country and the establishment of revolutionary Councils of Action in Europe. It can hardly be doubted that a second war against the Soviet Union will lead to the complete defeat of the aggressors, to revolutions in a number of countries and to the overthrow of the bourgeois-landlord governments in these countries."*

But such a victory of the revolution does not come by itself. It has to be organized and led.

That is why at the the present moment, when we can observe a weakening of our activity against an imperialist war and in defense of the U.S.S.R., the work carried out among the imperialist armies and fleets in 1919 by the Bolshevik Party should be an example to us.

The uprising on the Black Sea shows us how we can fight against anti-Soviet aggression, how we can turn the imperialist war into a civil and revolutionary war.

In the first round of wars and revolutions the entire absence of leadership in the shape of a proletarian revolutionary party—a Communist Party (which at that time did not as yet exist in France)—and complete ignorance of the art of uprising, enabled French imperialism, with the aid of the treacherous line of the social-democracy in the General Confederation of Labor, to escape very cheaply from the anti-Soviet armed onslaught. *Let us not be caught unawares in the second round of revolutions and wars.* Let us utilize and apply in action the lessons of the glorious mutinies on the Black Sea.

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* V. I. Lenin, *The Revolution of 1905*. Little Lenin Library, Vol. 6. International Publishers, 1931.

** *Ibid.*

* *Stalin Reports* to the Seventeenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. International Publishers, 1934.

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